

Sprawling Wargames

Multiplayer Wargaming

Paddy Griffith





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- Paddy Griffith, Withington 2009

The front Cover is a map of the Battle of Corunna in the Napoleonic wars by E. Mosqueira. Red squares represent British infantry, blue squares represent French infantry and blue and white squares represent French cavalry. The white dot represents the place in which Moore was fatally wounded, the black dot the place in which he died and the blue dot the place in which he is buried now. The yellow dot represents the place in which this tiled map is located.

Glossary of Abbreviations

AG: Army Group - ie a collection of Armies

Avalon Hill: A trail-blazing publisher of board wargames founded in 1958 by Charles Roberts. They covered 'Barbarossa' among many other subjects.

Boardgames or, more specifically, Board Wargames: In the 1970s these were conventionally played on maps overlaid with a grid of hexagons (*notably published by Avalon Hill or SPI*), although many variants have subsequently emerged.

Cardboard Simulators: One to One scale simulator games in which the military hardware (eg a tank, a midget submarine or even a Viking boat) is built out of disused cardboard boxes or other readily available household items. NB these are not usually pre-scripted 're-enactments', but 'games' in the full sense of the term.

Ci-devant: French revolutionary term for a person who had been an aristocrat before the Revolution, but who then embraced Democracy and renounced their nobility.

Committee Games: Discussion games where the players sit around a table to decide on strategies (See Chapter 1 and FN #15, below).

CoS: Chief of Staff = the technician who advises a commander and helps make sure that orders are transmitted efficiently. Sometimes he acts as, in effect, a second in command.

COW: Conference of Wargamers (See FN #2)

Diplomatic Crisis Games: A type of 'sprawling game' designed to examine international relations (See FN #4, and see Chapter 1).

Dreng: A Viking warrior, sailor and boat-companion

D6: Six-sided dice

D10: Ten-sided dice

Emigré: French revolutionary term for an aristocrat who fled France to live elsewhere, often serving in the counter-revolutionary armies of foreign powers.

FN: Footnote

Game Time: Time according to the game clock / game calendar, which runs according to the action within the game (normally an umpire report followed by a set of orders from the player), regardless of the Real Time (qv).

GHU: Grand High Umpire = The guy who writes and then runs the game

- GM: Games Master in roleplay games = equivalent to what I call an 'active umpire' (or 'GHU')
- IGN: *Institut National Geographique* = the French version of the British 'Ordnance Survey'
- IWM: Imperial War Museum
- Kriegsspiel*: Literally 'war game', but since the 1820s the term has been associated with the particular style of 'closed' game favoured by the Prussian army (See FN #11).
- LC: Line of Communication
- Matrix Game: A style of free discussion game pioneered by Chris Engle in the mid-1980s, which has now apparently exploded into a seriously major industry!
- Me 109: Messerschmidt 109: The leading German fighter plane, from the Spanish Civil War until half way through WWII.
- Meal Game: A type of Committee Game in which the table around which players sit will have a meal served upon it during 'play'. The meal should be appropriate to the Game Time (qv) - eg I once served barley, leeks and mead to a Viking meal game, since that was what the Vikings liked to eat & drink! But note that a Western Front meal game could be a pretty dismal affair, if it consisted of just a tin of bully beef served in a trench in the rain...
- Megagame: 'A very large game' = a style that has been developed in recent decades by 'Megagame Makers' (See FN #13)
- Muggagame: My own style of free discussion game in which all the players act as umpires - ie not the same as a 'committee game' (See Chapter 1).
- NPC: Non Played Character
- OB: Order of Battle, ie a list of the forces available to any given army or formation
- OKH: *Ober Kommando Heeres*: the German Army high command, which took the lead directing whatever operations were considered most important at the time - ie in autumn 1940 that would have meant 'Sealion'. In spring 1941 it was the Balkans (including Crete), then 'Barbarossa' and all the rest of the Eastern Front.
- OKW: *Ober Kommando Wehrmacht*: the highest (semi-political) authority over all the Nazi armed forces, under the CiC (Hitler). It also had direct military control over all theatres of war that were not under OKH.
- Pantomime Games: Sprawling games for many players, based upon the classic pantomime (or indeed Bollywood) format, including songs, speeches, dances and sometimes even a whiff of

cardboard. 'Oh Yes They Are!' - as you will soon see if you 'Look Behind You'.

PBeM: Play By e-mail (= the natural successor to PBM, qv)

PBM: Play By Mail - which today means by Snail Mail

Real Time: The date and time in the real world, outside the game. Not to be confused with Game Time (qv).

SPI: Simulations Publications Inc., a publisher of board wargames from 1969 under James Dunnigan - who is an expert & author on the war on the Eastern Front.

Stuka: German Junkers Ju 87 dive bomber, widely used in 1940-41

TEWT: Tactical Exercise Without Troops, ie a free kriegsspiel held outdoors, allowing players to view the real terrain rather than merely maps or an indoor scale model of it.

Victory Conditions: The conditions that a player must achieve to claim victory.

VLB: Variable Length Bound (See FN #8)

WD: Wargame Developments organisation

A Note on Gender: Most of the wargamers I encounter are male, and so as a shorthand in my text I have assumed they all are. However I do know that some women are indeed involved in the hobby. I can only offer them my apologies that I have not systematically acknowledged this fact in my text, and I hope that they will understand that I am using the word 'Man' in the sense of 'Homo Sapiens' rather than in the sense of 'Homo Wargamiensis Spottifacius'.

Preface by Andrew Roberts

In many ways Paddy Griffith can be seen as the doyen of British wargaming, and he has certainly been instrumental in the way that the discipline has developed over the decades. His combination of expertise right across the spectrum – as a military historian, battlefield guide, Sandhurst lecturer, discussion group moderator, veteran wargamer and umpire – mark him out as someone who has thought deeply about the phenomenon, as this superb collection of his writing over many years shows.

Although some historians still vigorously deny it, I believe that wargaming – the investigation into what did *not* happen – has much to teach us about what really did. It is only through understanding the alternatives that constantly faced the decision-makers of the past that we can properly evaluate their successes or failures in following the paths they did. Modern wargaming, thanks to pioneers and enthusiasts such as Paddy, is today far more scientific and accurate than it has ever been, and now constitutes a powerful tool in the armoury of any military historian. The fact that military academies and high commands around the world employ wargaming regularly at a very senior level and at a high degree of verisimilitude, is proof enough of its continuing importance.

Although I had of course known of Paddy's work for several years, it was not until 2008 that I got in touch with him, asking him to help me with a new history of the Second World War that I was writing, entitled *The Storm of War*. I wanted him to help me try to answer that most fascinating of historical conundra, namely, Could Hitler's invasion of Russia, codenamed Operation 'Barbarossa', have succeeded? Might Nazi Germany, with a different strategy, have defeated Soviet Russia, and so set the world on a different – and for Britain infinitely more perilous – trajectory?

The ultimate result of the intricate, months-long, hard-fought, but always compelling and good-natured battle between the four protagonists – Ned Zuparko (who played Brauchitsch), Max Michael (Hitler), Simon Bracegirdle (Stalin) and Tim Cockitt (Timoshenko), expertly umpired by Paddy – profoundly informed the conclusions of my own work, and can be read here in Chapter 4. It is only when we realise that the actors of the great historical dramas of the past could not see one minute into the future – any more than we ourselves can – that we can appreciate how decisions were made and events unfolded. To that end Paddy Griffith's life's work, many of the intellectual

highlights of which are contained in this fine volume, has made a real contribution to the study of global military history, for which we salute him.

Andrew Roberts www.andrew-roberts.net

Chapter One: Definitions, and Principles of Game Design

In 1980 my book 'Napoleonic Wargaming for Fun' was published. It explained a number of ways to play wargames with toy soldiers - but it also showed some ways to open them out to other formats (1). Very soon afterwards I set up the 'Wargame Developments' (WD) organisation, which was supposed to explore innovative ways to play all types of wargame. (2) This led me on to the most intensive period of wargaming in my life - and especially my most intensive period of thinking, theorising and pontificating about the activity. This experience quite soon showed me that "You don't know what you don't know", and that there were huge unexplored areas all around the wargaming hobby. Eventually I reached the conclusion that the use of toy soldiers was a very inefficient and limiting way to play wargames. Therefore I unashamedly denounced the little fellows (3) - losing a number of my friends in the process. However, this Damascene conversion at least left me free to concentrate on more 'sprawling' types of game, in many different formats. The present book is about some of them.



The original 'WD 40' (or at least some of them) at the Moor Park conference in 1980, which was the starting point for 'Wargame Developments'. Photo taken by the author.

This book is about wargames without rules (hence 'sprawling' rather than 'tightly regulated') that are designed to be played by more than two people. Let us analyse each of these elements in turn.

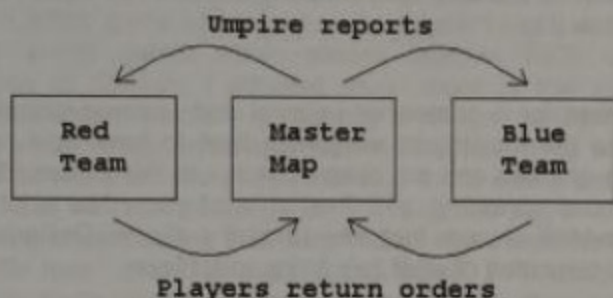
Sprawling Wargames for Multiple Players

In the first place I am talking about **games about warfare**, in one form or another. I am a military historian by trade and training, and so this is the subject to which I tend to return. However it is entirely possible to transfer the same method of gaming to more or less any other subject area, from High Finance to Yoghurt-making. I have myself run some diplomatic crisis games using a generally similar technique,(4) not to mention one memorable 'murder mystery' game with about 20 participants (including three 'detectives' who totally failed to gather any actual evidence, but nevertheless accurately identified the murderer).(5) It seems to be entirely open to the game designer to mould his game to his own interests and his own particular audience.

(But if you want to know why anyone should want to play around with 'alternate history' at all, please go at once to Appendix III, below: "Alternate History - a few thoughts").

Secondly, **the absence of rules implies the presence of active umpires**, rather than the use of a 'code of laws', or book of hard and fast regulations. This style of game is sometimes called 'Freeform' (6) or 'Free Kriegsspiel'. (7) The umpire(s) will have maximum freedom to interpret each situation as it arises, and then decide the outcomes - with or without the rolling of dice. In other words he or they will be 'inventing the game as it goes along', and will be encouraged to use as much creativity and inventiveness as possible. In this respect the umpire(s) will have a function similar to the 'Games Master' (GM) in roleplay games such as *Dungeons and Dragons*. (8) Clearly it is better to have well informed and competent umpires rather than any other sort, since they have to be the central 'animators' of each game. This, incidentally, includes a duty to ensure that the game amounts to a satisfying social event for most of the players, most of the time. (9)

Thirdly, the use of an active umpire means that the games can - and preferably should - have a **'closed' rather than 'open' structure**. In other words the players will not be able to know everything that's happening 'on the other side of the hill', but will be fed only limited information upon which to make their decisions. They will not enjoy a complete overview of the battlefield 'as if from a helicopter', as they do in Chess or in tabletop games with model soldiers. (10) Instead, the players are divided into separate rooms in which they can take



decisions and communicate directly with the umpire; but they cannot oversee everything that other players are doing in other rooms. This is essentially the format of the classic 19th century Prussian '*Kriegsspiel*'. (11) It is incidentally worth noting that any 'closed' game is by definition ideally suited to Play By Mail (PBM) or Play By e-mail (PBeM), since the players are necessarily in remote locations from the GHU.

Fourthly, these are **games for more than two people**. Strictly speaking it is in fact possible for two people to play such a game - ie one umpire and one player. But experience shows that this is not a very robust format. The use of at least three people - one umpire, one player to command the 'Blue' army and one to command the 'Red' army - can almost always add interest and complexity. To my mind, in fact, the 'interest and complexity' tends to be greatly enhanced if there are more than three participants. In e-mail games I find that a number between five and seven (including one umpire) seems to work best. (12) In one day public events such as the two Duxford games described below, a figure of around 60 (including up to 10 umpires) is perfectly possible. Almost any other combination can be used, for example the diplomatic crisis games that I ran in Salford each involved about 20 participants (including three or four umpires), whereas some 'megagames' have exceeded 100. (13)

Sprawling Times and Places: Finally, it is worth mentioning that as soon as you are liberated from the confines of a single small battlefield (or 'Chess board') you are free to allow your game to sprawl widely in both space and time. Thus the 'Sealion' game (*Chapter 2, below*) sprawls all over the English Channel and the Home Counties, over the course of about a game month. The 'Mercury' game (*Chapter 3*) sprawls all over the southern Aegean, although admittedly the action is limited to little more than two game days. The 'Barbarossa' game (*Chapter 4*) sprawls all over western Russia during four or five game months. The 'Suvarov in Alsace' game (*Chapter 5*) sprawls all over NE France for an almost indefinite period; while the 'Viking' game (*Chapter*

6) can sprawl all the way from Northern Scotland to distant Cathay, if only you allow it to...

All this makes for a somewhat unusual and unconventional style of game, since the majority of wargames tend to have rigid rules, two players, no umpires and an 'open' format - ie like Chess. But to my mind the more 'sprawling' and 'free' style of game has a lot more to offer - provided always that the Umpire / Game Designer has a reasonably clear idea of what he's trying to achieve.

Two Styles of Umpiring

There are two schools of thought on umpiring. On one hand there is the 'back of an envelope' school, in which the umpire starts with an idea (or an inspired 'lightbulb moment') and then issues a briefing no longer than a paragraph in length. In the 'Admiral Catfish' e-mail game that I ran in 2004 the briefing (to Martin James) was simply this:

"You are Admiral Catfish, commanding the Irish squadron of the RN (12 of the line, 3 frigates) in Cork, 1st May 1760. The Frogs have just declared war. What do you do? [*Answers limited to 100 words*]"

- and that was absolutely all that I had in writing, anywhere at all, about the game. Of course I was familiar with the general principles of naval strategy in the age of sail. I had read (albeit some 35 years earlier!) the classic studies by Alfred T Mahan and Julian Corbett, as well as two or three books about Nelson's campaigns, and the novels of Patrick O'Brian. I was also confident that my player was at least as well informed about the naval transactions of the 1760s as I was. But I had not constructed a detailed scenario of my fictitious *casus belli*, nor a list of the French navy, the deployment of other British squadrons - or anything else at all. The details would follow incrementally, turn by turn, as the game evolved - and of course the rule limiting correspondence to 100 words per turn was designed to act as a deterrent to excessive writing of such details. In the event the game went well, despite the fact that it had only one player (which is not always a reliable format). I was able to invent (or 'make up') whatever few essential details were required, as and when they were called for.

On the other hand there is the 'meticulous preparation' school of game design, in which the umpire studies hard before the game, and writes up reams and reams of background scenario, for his own information as much as that of players. In fact he may at first reveal only a very small proportion of these details to players, very much in the same style as my original briefing for 'Admiral Catfish'. But behind the first turn he will already have extensive lists of shipping, naval bases,

admirals (and all their quirks), weather forecasts and everything else that the 'Catfish' game had to make up as it went along. In the 'Admiral Bathtub' e-mail game, which started later in 2005 utilising the experience of 'Catfish', I adopted much more of this model in the preparatory stage, before I issued any briefings to players. Arguably this was a more appropriate approach in this case, since we eventually reached as many as seven players; thus there was a proportionately greater need for book keeping than with just one player. On the other hand, more book-keeping inevitably means more hard work and more rigidity (ie less 'sprawlingness') in the game. A balance has to be drawn in each specific case, to ensure that the vital spark of spontaneity is not lost.

Possible Formats

'Sprawling games' may come in an almost infinite number of formats, of which the most obvious is the classic *Kriegsspiel* arrangement of two playing teams in separate rooms, with an umpire team moving between them to collect their decisions and then adjudicate upon them. I have used this system very many times, of which by far the most public was the 'Game of War' Channel Four TV series in 1997, with Angela Rippon. We played through the battles of Naseby, Waterloo and Balaklava with an all star cast. (14)

An even easier format for the umpire is the 'Committee Game', in which players sit around a table to discuss an evolving situation. There should preferably be seven players, although five is still a good number. Each player has a carefully-prepared personal briefing which will be subtly - or perhaps not so subtly - different from those of the other players; for example one player may be told to argue as a 'hawk', while another may be a 'dove'. One may have specialist knowledge about tanks: another may have specialist knowledge about aircraft - and so on. The briefings should ideally be balanced out so the discussion will last forever, although two or three hours is probably a more realistic expectation. During the discussion the players will all have to pool their specialist knowledge and negotiate their way through their inbuilt 'prejudices' and other differences. They will make and break tacit alliances with other players. My first structured game of this type was a 'Chinese Committee' set in 1927, in which each player had to argue for a particular strategy to achieve a communist revolution within one particular Chinese province. (15) Some would have to argue for a revolution in the cities: others for a revolution in the countryside: but in case that split the committee into two camps too quickly, some members of each camp would be briefed to argue for a quick rising, while others argued for a slow build-up... and so on. The briefings were gently weighted in favour of the specific strategic mix that would eventually bring Mao Tse Tung to power - but this fact was hidden from the players, and the 'Maoist' player did not always win. Many

alternatives were possible, and so the whole course of Chinese history might easily have been changed!

Another type of open-ended discussion game is what I call a 'Muggergame', or what in his own personal variant Chris Engle calls a 'Matrix Game'. (16) In essence the players all (jointly, as a committee) look at a particular situation and then discuss the options open to the actors within it, and what would probably happen next. Once they have reached agreement they will see how the result will have changed things, so that a new round can then be played through, based on the new situation. It is quite possible that in any given round the players might agree, for example, that 'There's a 50% chance that the outcome will be A; a 30% chance of outcome B and a 20% chance of outcome C'. Then a ten-sided die (D10) can be thrown, to give a percentile score to determine the result. The particular joy of the Muggergame is that absolutely any type of action or event may be brought into consideration, such as would not be included in most normal sets of rules. For example in an early prototype scenario we had ragged French infantry in the Revolutionary Wars advancing through a village. In a conventional wargame the 'French Player' would have carried them through to attack the enemy on the far side: but in the Muggergame no individual player was specifically playing the French side - so the 'committee' of all the players was free to take a higher and more impartial view. In the event they agreed that the French troops would probably be starving and badly trained, so they would probably break off from attacking the enemy, to ransack and pillage the village for the remainder of the day. In other words, the Muggergame is even more sprawling and more flexible than many other types of sprawling & flexible games!

Yet another possible format is a game inspired by the skills of 'method acting'. Players read, think and breathe themselves into their roles, and attempt to remain fully 'in role' throughout the action. This is incredibly difficult to achieve unless you are highly conversant with the skills of dramatic improvisation (whether amateur or professional) as used in theatre workshops, (17) and are prepared to do a very great deal of homework. You should do plenty of rehearsals and other training to allow you to talk convincingly in role regardless of whatever unexpected situation may turn up (Note that unlike most other dramatic presentations, these games are entirely unscripted). My own one and only entirely successful essay into this format as a player lasted less than half a minute, (18) although (as umpire) I did eventually manage to run a less successful event for other players, that lasted for much of a day. It was set in a British battalion command post during a day of combat on the Western Front, and it was played in 'real time' with half a dozen participants. We started with a briefing using maps and a physical inspection of the 'real ground' over which our attack was due

to be launched (ie actually some open fields near my then house in Nuneaton). After that we retired into a small claustrophobic room, representing the command post in an underground bunker embedded in our 'friendly' trenches. The players issued orders to their 'battalion' and received reports back, 'as from' the men. The battle continued as essentially a Free Kriegsspiel between the umpire team and the playing team; but on this occasion there was also an attempt to encourage all the players to think, act and talk like battalion officers in the First World War. This enterprise was, alas, only half successful, since not all wargamers are natural actors - and indeed *vice versa*. My ideal would perhaps be to recruit a troupe of skilled professional actors who are also passionate wargamers - but to date I have not been able to organise such an outfit, or even to figure out how to set about doing so... (19)

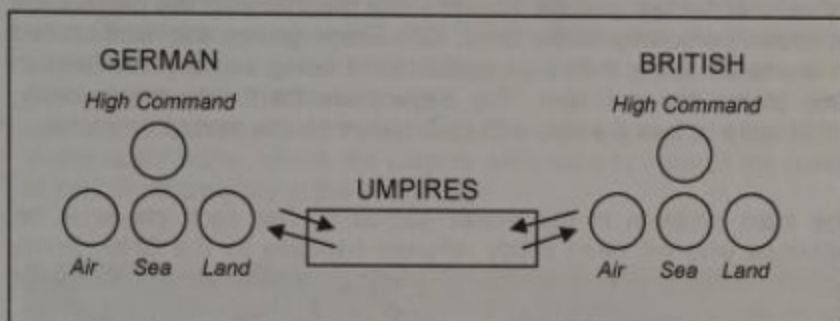
Then again there are even more weird and wonderful 'sprawling' game formats, such as 'Cardboard Simulators', (20) 'Pantomime Games', 'Meal Games' (21) and I know not what else besides. Nevertheless, the present volume will concentrate upon just two types of game; ie 'IWM Duxford' Games and 'E-Mail' Games.

'IWM Duxford' Games and 'E-Mail' Games.

By '**IWM Duxford Games**' I mean the two large public games (Operation 'Sealion' and Operation 'Mercury') that I ran in the Duxford branch of the Imperial War Museum (IWM) in 2009. These were originally the idea of Philip Sawford, of the IWM staff, who was looking for new ways to expand the scope of his 'Adult Learning Special Interest Days' beyond their normal format of straight lectures. He wanted to cater for about 60 people in one day - although on closer inspection it turned out that the 'day' ran from 1030 hrs to 1700 which, after a preliminary hour for introductory briefings plus 90 minutes for lunch and other breaks, and then 40 minutes to debrief, left less than three and a half hours for actually playing the game. Although any game with 60 participants is ostensibly a 'Megagame', this truncated timespan falls seriously short of the time available to most megagames that have actually been played, which might typically enjoy at least eight hours of play, and even a whole weekend. As a game designer I found that Duxford was posing me with a pretty challenging requirement. My solution was to use a series of 'committee games' running simultaneously but interacting with each other. This is in fact almost identical to the classic format of a diplomatic crisis game, although the 'war' version does require a greater level of input from active umpires.

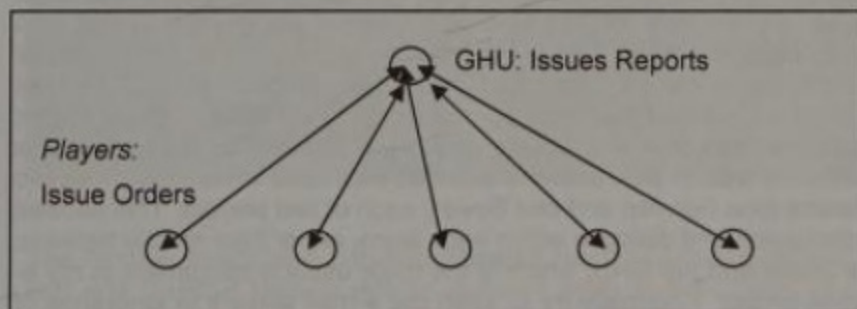
To put this another way, most of the 'facts' in a crisis game consist of conversations and agreements between playing teams without the intervention of umpires - eg The US team will talk among themselves about what to offer the Russian team; then they will meet the Russian team and negotiate a treaty between the two; after which both teams will announce the public parts of the treaty to all the other playing teams, but keep the secret clauses to themselves. All the umpires have to do in this process is to answer any technical or factual questions that arise; to provide a forum in which the public news can be transmitted to the other teams, and to occasionally throw in some "events, dear boy; events" (22) from the outside. By contrast in the 'war' version of such a game, many of the planning discussions by playing teams will have to be consummated by an umpire decision on exactly what happens as a result. By the same token the umpires' decisions must be transmitted in an appropriate way to other umpires and other playing teams. For example in 'Operation Sealion' the German players were divided into four teams = Land, Sea, Air and High Command. They could all communicate with each other at any time, and cross-report their recommendations and special expertise. However, as soon as they wanted to *order* any actions to be taken by their troops on the ground, they would have to tell an umpire. The umpire would then have to process the result (eg with die rolls), and pass on the relevant news to other umpires and other interested playing teams (not least the enemy!). This all makes for a more umpire-intensive game than a pure diplomatic game, and in my experience the 'Duxford' style of wargame will need more than twice as many expert umpires as a diplomatic crisis game.

The other type of wargame illustrated in this book is my 'sprawling' version of **e-mail games** (or 'PBeM' games). In the old days, before e-mail was invented, many games were widely played by snail mail. Chess and 'Diplomacy' were taken up early in the PBM format; but many other games were later developed specifically for that format. In the 1980s the present author was particularly proud of his 'text based' *Ossuair* game based on the Battle of Melegnano (North Italy 1859), which was played by many of the same circle of his friends who have now become his current e-mail correspondents. The great advantage of this game for me was that it allowed me to produce copious hand-drawn sketches specially (imaginatively and dramatically!) designed for each particular turn, and then photocopied for the players. In a face to face game I would never have had time to perfect such sketches - and even in an e-mail game the turn-around time is actually much shorter than in PBM.



The layout of an IWM 'Duxford Game'

My *Ossuaire* game was a very small and private operation; but at around the same time there were also many other PBMs that were much bigger and more public. For example *The Tribes of Crane* (which started in 1978) apparently became a minor industry. It charged players a small sum of money for each turn, and, for the UK franchise, employed at least two people to process a very large number of players. Then again Paul Evans (known as 'Pevans') ran an *En Garde* PBM game for about 24 years, as a labour of love. (23) One game he participates in, as a player, is a Formula One PBM game run by Danny McConnell, in which players (who pay £ 2 per turn) have to manage a racing team through a race season.



The layout of one of my e-mail games (normally the players are not allowed to communicate with each other; but 'Barbarossa' was an exception, since players worked in pairs).

Regardless of whatever has happened to PBM games in modern times, the Internet Revolution has largely displaced them with PBeM games. Many different types of game can be played on the internet or by e-mail, ranging from pre-programmed arcade games to complex games of personal interaction that use hundreds of players with rigid rules - normally computerised. (24) My own preference is for quite

small and intimate 'text based' e-mail games using one GHU with between about two and six players - and preferably all the players will be known personally to the GHU. (25) These games are hand crafted on a one-off basis, with a personal report being sent by the GHU to each player on each turn. The players are then expected to reply, within more or less a week, with their orders for the next turn.

The main problem in my e-mail games is that each player is an individual who will need subtly different handling by the GHU. Some players write long commentaries while other write very minimalist orders. Even more important to the progress of the game as a whole, some players will always write back quickly while others will tend to delay, will need nagging reminders and - in a few cases - they may never reply at all. The GHU always has to be aware of these personal dynamics, in all their complexity, and adjust his replies accordingly. For example if a player is not responding promptly, it may be because he is not sufficiently excited by his role, so the GHU might be well advised to spice it up!

I have selected three particular games to illustrate the general style of my 'sprawling' e-mail games. The first is by far my most successful attempt (out of two) to tackle what is surely the classic subject of boardgames using hexagon maps - ie **'Operation Barbarossa, 1941'**. No one who lived through the SPI / Avalon Hill generation (26) of the 1970s can be unaware of the iconic status that this particular campaign held among board wargamers... nor can they be unaware that there always absolutely HAD to be a better way of doing 'Barbarossa' than with hexagon maps. I here offer my e-mail solution to this particular dilemma, which was prompted by Andrew Roberts in 2008. It was designed to be as historically authentic as the limitations of the format allowed, except that the Germans were allowed to start off with a different master plan than the one that was used in real life. I had two teams (one German and one Soviet) each of two players. This allowed discussion and dialogue within each team, rather than merely between a player and the GHU, which is the more usual arrangement in my e-mail games. I normally try to keep the e-mail players in ignorance of each others' identities - but in this case they were encouraged to correspond freely behind my back.

Secondly, I was inspired by Richard Madder's 'Soissons 1801' game, which had been played in the summer of 2003, using Cassini's great Map of France (c.1770). It was based on an 'alternate' version of the 1814 campaign of France, and it concentrated the minds of the two players on the area of the Aisne and Laon. When I then came to invent my own game using the same map, it turned out to be centred on a fictitious campaign by **Suvarov in Alsace, 1799** (ie just after his real

campaign in Switzerland, but assuming a happier ending to that). My game had two main players (one Russian and one French) plus a third 'consultant' player, in the person of Richard himself as the Austrians. It ran smoothly as a conventional dialogue between each player and the GHU, although it featured more bad weather and more siege operations than is usual in wargames. It eventually led to a tourist visit to the real Alsace, where the players were able to inspect the scenes of their fictitious glory in the living flesh!



The famous handshake between Marshal Suvarov (Andy Grainger - left) and General Moreau (Martin James - right) at the Chapel of St Maximin near Bergheim - which was of course the centre of the pivotal battle of the Alsace campaign of 1799 *Photo courtesy of Richard Madder*

Finally, by way of variety, I have added an account of my **'Black Isle' Magical Viking Game**, set in the fifth year of the reign of King Magnus One-Arm of Møre. This was even more fictitious than ordinary fiction, since it was designed to be 'magical' as well as merely 'made up'. It was inspired by the Icelandic sagas, which were written so long after

the Viking age that they were often vague and unreliable documents in terms of both history and geography - and in some cases they incorporated a strong element of magic. (27) In my game I set up each of the players as an individual Viking adventurer who had been forced to leave his native lands in Møre (Western Norway) to seek his fortune somewhere 'to the West'. In the event I had six players all playing the same role, all independently of each other - ie they were *doppelgangers* in what were effectively six parallel universes - although pairs of them did occasionally bump into each other (to the great embarrassment of the GHU). Nevertheless more or less of a 'saga' could be written about each player by the end of his adventure, often involving the slaying of a dragon (or being slain by it), and in the case of Martin James, being slain in far Cathay by, er, the Chinese Emperor Ming the Merciless. No one could ever say that the Vikings didn't range far and wide around the world!

Roles of the Umpire

As the 'animator', the umpire is ultimately responsible for all aspects of the game; but it is valuable to distinguish two distinct functions in particular - ie 'Writing the Game' in advance, and 'Playing the Game' on the day (or in the case of some e-mail games, over the course of several months).

The process of Writing the Game starts by **Envisioning the sort of game it is going to be**, which is the key moment of creative originality that will mould everything that follows. The game designer has to make a personal assessment of the following questions (as well as a few more besides):-

- i) How long will it take to play? - including what demands can it be expected to make on his own and his players' time? Will it be realistic to make such demands? EG in the IWM Duxford games everything had to be organised and streamlined around the very short time available for play on the day, although the GHU admittedly had several weeks available to write the briefings in advance. By contrast in e-mail games the time available tends to be pretty much open ended. It will be based on the assumption that there might be several real days (and sometimes even several real weeks) between each turn. In that case the key calculation for both umpires and players is "just how long can I afford to spend processing each turn, in the midst of my otherwise busy life?"
- ii) How many participants are expected to take part? And what will be the scale of the game? Leading on from this, how many different interactions between players can be expected in any given turn?

EG in the IWM Duxford games I expected 60 participants and tried to envisage how many other participants each of them would have to talk to in each turn. I thought it might be about half a dozen, and so I had to give briefings that were sufficiently detailed to sustain that scale of chatter. But in e-mail games such as 'Suvarov in Alsace', I expected to have only three players who would each communicate with the GHU only once in each turn, as well as a few (very marginal) intercommunications with each other.

- iii) What sort of level of expertise, or interest in the subject, can players be expected to bring to the game? EG in the 'Admiral Catfish' game I had every confidence that the admiral in question would be fully up to speed, and would need no special briefing or encouragement: but in other cases one has to expect participants to need much more detailed briefing.
- iv) All this also affects the duties of umpires, who will have to be more careful about writing briefings and explaining everything to players, if the latter are not already familiar with the subject matter of the game or the technologies being used.

The next step is to **Write the briefings**, even if these are absolutely minimal, as in the case of the 'Admiral Catfish' game mentioned above. According to classical practice, there should ideally be:

- i) A *short General Scenario* that can be shown to all players, to include such basic details as where and when the game starts; who are the identifiable protagonists; how, in general terms, they got there; and roughly what they may want to achieve during play. But no secrets must be revealed that may be of benefit to one side or another.
- ii) A *Secret Team Scenario* (eg one for the Blue Team and one for the Red Team), containing all the information specific to that team, that should be known by all team members, including the Victory Conditions of the team as a whole. There will also be some Order of Battle information, as it will be known to that team as a whole (The OB for the team itself may be incomplete, while the intelligence available about the enemy team may be positively misleading).
- iii) An even more *Secret Personal Briefing for each individual player*. These should be as detailed as possible, containing instructions on how the player should try to operate (eg "As second in command to Admiral Pugwash, you should seek every opportunity to blacken his name among his superiors"), and whatever specialist information the player may have that eg Admiral Pugwash may not (A good example would be the inner details of the Order of Battle of the troops directly commanded by the individual). Also there

should be a clear statement of the individual's personal Victory Conditions.

- iv) A map, or set of maps, showing the theatre of operations. Once again, some players may have more detailed maps of certain areas than others. But in the case of the Viking game the only topographical information available to players was relayed orally, as from one seafarer to another. The umpire, of course, had full access to all the modern maps he needed.

By definition we don't have hard and fast 'rules' in sprawling games: but we can still have certain 'guidelines', especially if there is to be more than one umpire (as in 'IWM Duxford games'). The more umpires and players you hope to have, the more you should write out the details of how you, as top umpire, expect to treat each one of them. Note that this is additional to the multiplication of 'secret personal briefings' for the umpires and players themselves that will automatically follow from the multiplication of participants in the game.

The Process of 'Playing the Game' on the day:-

One almost universal 'general guideline' is that if an umpire sees a situation that he feels is cut and dried, he should bash straight on and rule on the outcome without resort to the dice. For example if the odds seem to be more than 90% in favour of a Blue-land victory, it will not normally be good for the flow of the game to insist on rolling the dice to see whether the remaining 10% comes up. But if the odds in favour of a Blue-land victory seem to be much less than one in six (ie 83%), a D6 should probably be rolled - although it will always remain a subjective decision that relies on the umpire's personal view of the specific situation.

When a die IS rolled, the etiquette should always be as follows:-

- i) The umpire rolling the die must first be very clear in his mind exactly what odds he thinks apply to the specific tactical situation: eg (as explained earlier) "There's a 50% chance that the outcome will be A; a 30% chance of outcome B and a 20% chance of outcome C" - although normally it may be much less specific, such as "It's 50% likely that Blue will win, and 50% likely that Red will win".
- ii) It is then **absolutely essential** for the umpire to be clear in his mind exactly which side will benefit from a high score, and which will be penalised by a low score - ie it's no good rolling a 6 on a D6, and then saying "Hooray! Someone's won bigtime! But, eugh - which side was it? Was it the Blue guys or the Red ones?" That way lies the worst type of subjectivity. As a rough 'rule of thumb' it is conventional for a high score on any dice rolled to favour the side

that's taking the initiative that led to the die roll in the first place: EG if the Blue commander says "I want to attack those Red SOBs on that hill over there", and if everything else is equal, then the umpire will roll for the success of the attack: 6 on a D6 will mean a total Blue victory, whereas a 1 will mean a total Red victory.

- iii) Only after the umpire is clear about exactly what the dice will mean should the dice be rolled.

In any given game a certain number of rough 'rules of thumb' can be allowed. For example in games set in 1940-41, it may be helpful for umpires to keep in mind the figure that a 'Stuka' (Ju 87 dive bomber) has about one chance in 100 of hitting a destroyer that is taking avoiding action at speed - but a much better chance if the destroyer is not moving, or if it's a bigger or slower type of ship. By contrast high level bombers (eg Heinkel 111s) have practically no chance of hitting moving ships at all.

In games set in the 'horse and musket era' some other rough rules of thumb may be kept in mind, such as "Infantry average 12 miles per day" (which is what the present, distinctly unathletic, author managed on the Pennine Way in 1978) or "The speed of movement of Couriers will be halved in bad weather, and for a die roll of 2 on 2 x D6 his message will fall into enemy hands". Another such rule of thumb may be that reports of enemy strength reaching a given player will normally be very variable. (28) Roll 1 x D6:-

- 1 - 2: The report gives enemy strength as one quarter of the actual number
- 3 - 4: The report is roughly (but never COMPLETELY) accurate
- 5: The report gives five times the actual number
- 6: The report gives twenty (!) times the actual number

The inaccuracies will be reduced when a trained staff officer (or spy) is making the report; and they will be removed altogether if a trained observer can count the enemy troops one by one, as they cross a bridge.

Having said all that, it cannot be stressed enough that the whole nature of 'sprawling' games is to cut down all such 'rules of thumb' to an absolute minimum. Nothing is easier than to multiply rules - but nothing is more fatal to a game. Umpires must trust their own judgment, and dispense with rules. But of course you will always need umpires who have at least the same level of expertise as their players, plus the confidence to make their own decisions.

Is it good for you to be an Umpire?

The role of GHU can be a very powerful ego-trip, which is a pressure that must be resisted. Umpires must always be very sensitive to the requirements and expectations of their players, and in particular they must always be on their guard against making any of the players bored, so they start twiddling their thumbs. In big games (as eg at IWM Duxford) this can, alas, never be entirely eradicated - but at least it can be reduced to a minimum. It needs very careful thought by umpires at every phase of the game design and play: but you cannot absolutely legislate against it. Sometimes it will be the players who fail to grasp the inner meanings of their briefings: but often it will be the fault of the person who wrote the briefing or tried to run the game on the day. To his eternal shame the present author, who normally fancies himself as a very experienced umpire, from time to time continues to make blazingly awful decisions that leave his players frustrated, deprived of a good game, and angry. This is not good! I apologise to all concerned and wish these incidents had never happened - but I do not apologise for having taken some risks in the first place (A wargame without any risk at all can never hope to fly. There cannot ever possibly be a wargame in which 'Nothing is left to chance.').

Section One: The Two 'Duxford' Games

Chapter Two - 'Operation Sealion' 1940

In 1974 I wrote and ran a wargame about 'Operation Sealion' at the Army Staff College in Camberley. The event was provoked by Richard Cox on behalf of the *Daily Telegraph Magazine*. It had a total of about 30 participants, including a number of distinguished senior officers, both British and German, who had been personally involved in the front line in 1940 (albeit normally at 'middle' rather than the 'highest' ranking levels). Running this game was an intense and formative experience for me in 1974 - not least because it involved my first opportunity to use a computer! The computerised 'Battle of Britain' preliminaries (programmed by Ivan Collier) lasted several days before the main event - although regrettably it was never mentioned in the press at all - but the 'main game' extended over the two days of a weekend. It is certainly very gratifying to me to find that the game's results today somehow seem to have infiltrated their way into 'the literature of Sealion' (Especially through the novel 'Sea Lion' that was written by Richard Cox almost immediately after the event) (29). In the game we had two teams of four players each (Land, Sea, Air and Political) plus seven umpires (ie Co-ordinator [*c'est moi*] and Land x 2, Railways, Sea, Air and Political umpires). These umpires ran the routine administration of the game; but when a big decision had to be made, it was referred upwards for discussion by the panel of eight distinguished senior officers. In the event our German players managed to get most of their troops ashore; but they were then starved of resupply and soon defeated on land. It could be argued that I, as game designer, had been too lenient towards both the German navy and the British army.

In 2009 Philip Sawford invited me to run some games at the IWM Duxford and so - given the nature of Duxford as an institution - I immediately thought of 'Sealion'. Not only did it involve plenty of Spitfires, but it was a battle that had never actually been fought in real life - ie it was an ideal subject for a hypothetical game, in which no one could say "It's not historical - it didn't happen like that." Obviously the only way to study 'Sealion' at all was by some form of exercise in 'alternate' or 'hypothetical' history. (30) A wargame seemed to be the ideal way to approach it - although admittedly a number of speculative books have been written about this putative event that did not actually use wargaming as their prompt. (31) On the day in Duxford we had about 60 participants, including 10 umpires, and the game was all

complete within much less than 7 hours. On this occasion I was not so lenient towards the *Kriegsmarine* as I had been in 1974, with the result that only half of the first German wave could land - and then practically none of the subsequent waves. In those circumstances the British, despite considerable initial mal-deployment, were eventually able to defeat the attack even with relatively weak forces.

In the summer of 1940 the Germans faced two major decisions with reference to 'Sealion':-

i) **WHEN should they attack?** Should it be almost immediately after winning the victory in France - ie launch 'Sealion' in July? or should they wait until the last possible moment before the weather closed down for the winter - ie September? The earlier they attacked, the less prepared and 'balanced' the British would be: but by the same token the fewer troops the Germans could expect to get across the Channel. Both Kenneth Macksey's and Steve Badsey's alternate histories opt for a July invasion. Of the two, I feel that Badsey's is the more convincing, since he recognises the limitations to German fighting strength implied by the early start date, and his invasion succeeds through political rather than military pressure. Macksey, by contrast, somehow manages to get a large force of *Panzers* ashore at Folkestone, thereby winning a major military victory in what I believe is an improbable way.

I personally believe that if 'Sealion' had ever been launched in real life, it would have been in September, after the Germans had had time to digest their conquests in France, and to assemble their fleet of barges and other equipment for amphibious landings. Therefore both of my own games (1974 and 2009) posited an invasion that started in September.

ii) **WHERE should they land?** The actual German plan for 'Sealion' aimed at Kent and Sussex, with a few additional landings further to the West. (32) This plan was based on making the shortest possible passage with their very cumbersome and unseaworthy barges, especially to allow them a chance of making several trips - including resupply in the third, fourth and subsequent waves. It made the best sense for the Germans, even if it was inevitably somewhat 'obvious' to the British. My 1974 game was based on this model; but in 2009 our player for 'Hitler' opted for a more risky attack on Essex. This involved a much longer journey for the barge fleet, which was then unable to sail back to port. It was condemned to being a 'one shot weapon', and the troops it carried were doomed to being a *coup de main* force: they had to capture

Romford and then central London quickly, or die! (In the event, they died).

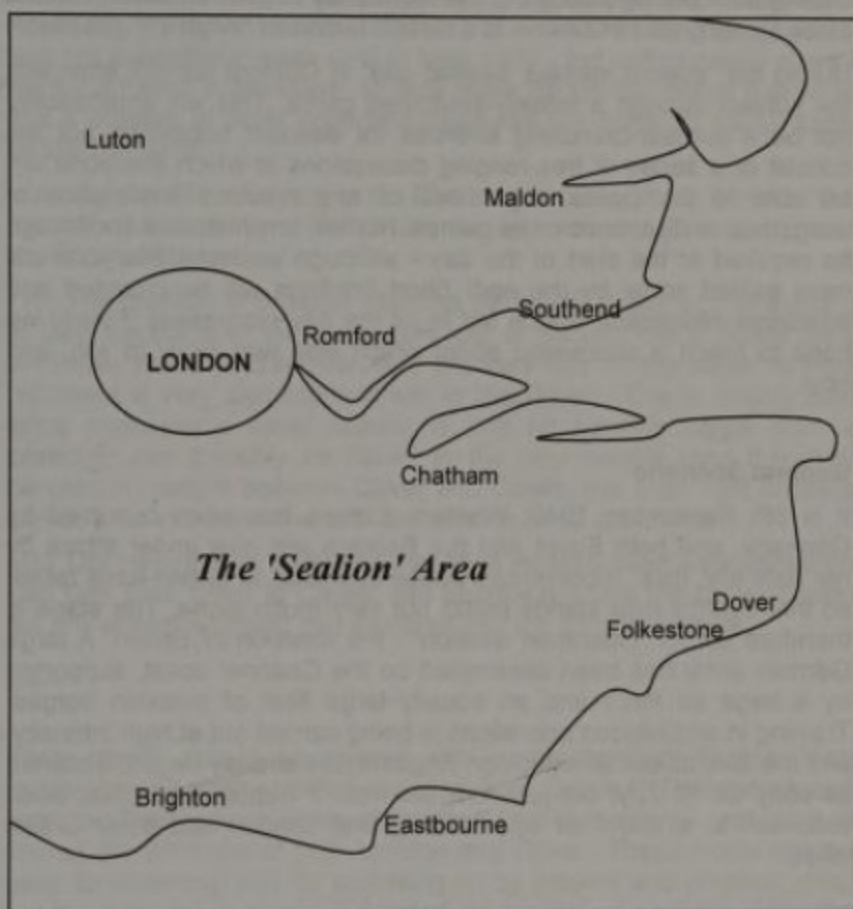


Figure 1 Sealion Landing Areas

Here are some of the **Original Briefings for the Duxford Game** (but note they have not been meticulously researched in great detail, for such a short game, even if it involved so many people):-

Aims and Activities

The aim of the day is to explore 'Operation Sealion' which was, of course, probably the biggest and most decisive battle of the Second World War that was never fought. We know the basic plans for both sides, and we know that the Germans were trained, equipped and ready to go when the invasion was effectively cancelled in September 1940. But would it have succeeded if it had gone ahead, thereby

winning the war for the Third Reich? Or would its ignominious defeat have put the Germans on the back foot over two years before Stalingrad - perhaps allowing the Normandy counter-invasion to take place as early as 1942? This is a classic historical "What if?" question.

During our 'special interest Sealion day' in Duxford we will approach the subject through a loosely-structured game. This will emphatically not be a number-crunching exercise for devoted hobbyists, but will consist of a series of free-ranging discussions in which everyone will be able to participate, regardless of any previous experience of wargames or diplomatic crisis games. Nor will any historical knowledge be required at the start of the day - although we hope everyone will have gained some by the end! Short briefings will be provided and additional information will be fed in as the day progresses. Finally we hope to reach a conclusion about which side was likely to win, and how.

General Scenario

It is 8th September 1940. Western Europe has been occupied by Germany, and both Egypt and the Balkans are now under attack by her Axis ally, Italy. Ribbentrop's peace overtures to Britain have failed; so that country now stands proud but very much alone. The stage is therefore set for 'Operation Sealion' - the invasion of Britain. A large German army has been assembled on the Channel coast, supported by a large air force and an equally large fleet of invasion barges. Training in amphibious operations is being carried out at high intensity, and the final all-out air attack on England has already begun: it started as early as 10 July; but just now (as from 7 September) it has been extended to a major air offensive against London and other British cities.

The British suffered a very major defeat at Dunkirk as recently as June. This has torn great holes in their military manpower and equipment, as well as in the Royal Navy's strength in destroyers. Strenuous efforts are being made to mobilise the home population as soldiers, as builders of fortifications, and as munitions workers - but it is likely to amount to a case of 'too little, too late'. It is not believed that sufficient forces will be available to conduct a robust defence against the invasion, provided the *Luftwaffe* can succeed in controlling the skies. As of today, estimates suggest that the Germans are winning the 'Battle of Britain' in the air, and that RAF Fighter Command will very likely be forced to retire completely from southern England in maybe one or two weeks' time.

The German forces are mostly of the highest possible quality, buoyed up by their shockingly spectacular successes from 1938 onwards - and

of course they are extremely numerous. Their one weak point is perhaps the *Kriegsmarine*, which was mauled in the Norwegian campaign and is not yet anything like strong enough to challenge the Royal Navy properly in the Channel. The naval building programme was not expected to peak until at best 1942 - but unfortunately events have overtaken it. However, to help make up for this deficit it is clear that a number of other important measures are currently being taken by the Germans:-

- (a) Massive **Mine Laying** in the Channel, to protect both flanks of the invasion flotilla when it will make its way towards the south east coastline of England.

- (b) The creation of **Smaller Flotillas** (Mostly 'E Boats' and 'U Boats'), to take the place of the destroyers lost at Narvik. The E Boats pack extremely powerful firepower, and are very fast on the water: ie they represent a very significant threat to the British. This is doubly true since professional naval opinion is that no warship bigger than a destroyer can possibly be risked in the very narrow (and therefore dangerous) waters between Dover and Calais. Not even light cruisers can be sent into that zone with any reliable hope of survival.

- (c) **The Heavy Gun Batteries** that have recently been established on Cap Gris Nez, close to Calais, can destroy not only the Dover docks; but any enemy shipping that ventures into the Straits of Dover.

Each player should be issued with a non-detailed **Sketch Map** (preferably A3 size) showing the area from Calais to Portsmouth and from the Blackwater (North of Southend) to Aylesbury - including of course the environs of both London and Dover. These maps can be used for planning, and for scribbling on by players and umpires alike; but the intention is to avoid detailed topographical analysis since the game will be too short, and set at too high a level, for in-depth analysis of that type. Note that there is absolutely no need for a larger-scale central map or 'large landscape model', provided that the umpire room is equipped with several (disposable) copies of the A3 map.

Playing Rooms: There should be a large room that can accommodate all 60+ participants for plenary briefing and debriefing (with or without the use of Powerpoint). In addition you will need smaller rooms where players can talk in smaller groups - and especially where the 'German' players will be separated from the 'British' players. Since players naturally fall into about eight 'sub teams' (ie Central Direction, Land, Sea and Air for each side), there should ideally be eight 'sub-team rooms'; but in practice you can surely get away with considerably fewer than that. At some stages in the game there may be some advantages in separating each sub-team into its own room: but for much of the game it may be more convenient to place two or more sub-teams

in each room - sometimes all four of them in the same place at once. In any case players in each sub-team should be encouraged to move around and talk to members of other sub-teams on the same side - ie they can move around from one room to another.

German Team Structure, assuming 30 players: but if there are fewer than 30 players, some roles should be either merged or not played. Note that each player should be given a lapel badge showing his game name and role, together with the 'secret personal briefing' that goes with them. In the case of 'merged' roles the same player may have two or more lapel badges!

Government [7 members]: Responsible for deciding between 'Sealion Case Orange' (our existing plan to attack mainly Kent, but with other elements landing as far West as the Isle of Wight) and 'Sealion Case Purple' (our plan to attack Essex and East Anglia). In either case, the invasion is due to be launched on 10 September, and its initial objective will be to secure a beach-head from which London can be captured (Note that no third option is now possible). Once the plan has been selected and initiated, the Government will be responsible for supervising its higher execution.

- Fuhrer (Hitler) = Chairman of the 'Government' team
- Foreign Minister (Ribbentrop) = To extract favourable peace terms from the British
- Minister of Propaganda (Goebbels / Haw Haw) = To explain our cause to Germans and Brits
- Commander in Chief of the *Luftwaffe* (Goering) = Running the Air Force
- Commander in Chief, *Kriegsmarine* (Grand Admiral Raeder) = Running the Navy
- OKW Chief of Staff (Keitel) = Implementing the Fuhrer's Army strategy
- OKW Chief of Operations (Jodl) = Help Keitel, and liase with the 'Front Line Army' team

OKH Team [9 members]: Responsible for fighting the ground battle. Also responsible for supervising, analysing (and if necessary criticising, from a professional viewpoint) whichever military plan for the Army is decided by the Government and OKW.

- Chief of OKH (Brauschitsch) = Chairman of the 'OKH' team

- OKH Chief of Staff (Halder) = Cast a critical eye over the detail of OKW's plans
- OKH Chief of Operations (Greiffenberg) = Liase with Runstedt in planning
- GOC Army Group A (Runstedt) = Chairman of the 'Front Line Army'
- GOC 6th Army (Reichenau) = Commanding assault troops
- GOC 9th Army (Strauss) = Commanding assault troops
- GOC 16th Army (Busch) = Commanding assault troops
- Director of *Panzer* Forces (Guderian) = Commanding tank warfare
- Director of Military Intelligence = To report on enemy locations & plans

Kriegsmarine [8 members]: Responsible for running the naval campaign.

- CiC High Seas Fleet (Lutjens) = Chairman of the 'Navy' team
 - Chief of Staff (Schniewind) = To help Lutjens with all surface ships
- Commander of U-boats (Doenitz) = To sink the Royal Navy and its merchant ships
- Commander of Barges = Organising transport for the Army
- Director of Mine Warfare = Responsible for minelaying and minesweeping
- Director of Naval Supply = Organising logistics for the assault troops
- Director of Coastal Artillery = To control the Dover Straits from Cap Gris Nez
- Vichy French Prefect of the Pas de Calais = Running the Channel Ports

Luftwaffe [6 members]: Responsible for running the air campaign.

- Chief of Staff (Jenschonnek) = Chairman of the 'Luftwaffe' team
- Chief of Operations (Waldau) = Helping Jenschonnek co-ordinate all air operations
- Commander of *Luftflotte* 2 (Kesselring) = Commander of front line aircraft
- Commander of *Luftflotte* 3 (Sperrle) = Commander of front line aircraft

- Commander of airborne forces (Student) = Paratroops & Air Landing forces
- Commander of the Italian *Corpo Aereo* (Fougier) = The Latin Touch!

Outline of the two German plans (The first task of the German team is to decide which plan will be adopted, including specific recommendations for the use of Airborne forces)

'Sealion Case Orange' (= our existing plan to attack mainly Kent, but with other elements landing as far West as Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight):-

16th Army to sail in 3 waves (from the coast Ostend to Boulogne), to land between Ramsgate and Beachy Head, to capture Kent - especially a port - and then strike directly at London

9th Army to sail in 3 waves (from the coast Dieppe to Le Havre), to land between Brighton and the Isle of Wight and then cut off London from the West (Reading - High Wycombe)

6th Army to sail in the 1st wave (from Cherbourg), as Army Group A's floating Reserve

The *Kriegsmarine* will hold defensive lines Ostend-Ramsgate and Bournemouth-Cherbourg

'Sealion Case Purple' (= our plan to attack Essex and East Anglia):-

16th Army to sail in 3 waves (from the coast Boulogne to Ostend), to land between Tilbury and Southend, capture SW Essex, especially a port, and then strike directly at London

9th Army to sail in 3 waves (from the coast Zeebrugge to Amsterdam), to land between Foulness and Harwich, capture N and E Essex, and then cut off London from the North

6th Army to sail in the 1st wave (from Emden), as Army Group A's floating Reserve

The *Kriegsmarine* will hold defensive lines Calais-Dover and eastwards from Lowestoft.

In both cases the *Luftwaffe* will give tactical support to army spearheads. Airborne forces will seize a usable airfield at the start of operations, as shall be decided by tactical commanders. The army will land significant armoured and motorised forces in the 2nd wave provided a port has been captured by the first wave. The more ports and airfields we can seize, the better!

German Orders of Battle (as at 8th September)

Kriegsmarine (Grand Admiral Raeder)

a) Surface Ships (Lutjens): Heavy Cruiser 'Hipper'; Light Cruisers 'Numberg', 'Köln' and 'Emden'

10 x Destroyers, 30 x E-Boats and numerous small craft (including minesweepers)

b) U-Boats (Doenitz): 15 available for operations in this area

c) Barges: 2 Large Liners; 158 other Steamers; 1490 Barges; 423 Tugs; 1028 Motor Boats. Note that loaded barges can be expected to proceed at an average speed (after tides and currents are considered) of one knot - ie Calais to Dover would take about 20 hours.

d) Mines: You may lay a 30 km long belt of mines every 24 hours (or two of 15 km!)

e) Coastal Artillery sited on Cap Gris Nez: 10 x 15" guns

Army Group A (Runstedt)

6th Army (Reichenau): To be transported in the first wave: II Corps: 6, 256 Divs

9th Army (Strauss)

a) To be transported in the first wave: XXXVIII Corps: 26, 34 Divs

VIII Corps: 8, 28, 6 Mtn Divs (incl. 1 battalion amphibious tanks)

b) To be transported in the second wave: XV Corps: 4 Pz, 7 Pz, 20 Mot Divs

c) To be transported in the third & later waves: XXIV Corps: 15, 78 Divs

16th Army (Busch)

a) To be transported in the first wave: XIII Corps: 17, 35 Divs

VII Corps: Corps: 1 Mtn, 7 Divs (incl. 3 battalions amphibious tanks)

b) To be transported in the second wave: V Corps: 12, 30 Divs
XXXXI Corps: 8 Pz, 10 Pz, 29 Mot Divs and 2 x Mot SS Regiments

c) To be transported in the third & later waves: IV Corps: 24, 58 Divs

XXXXII Corps: 45, 164 Divs

OKH Reserve: To be designated later

Luftwaffe (Goering) *Currently operational:*

Luftflotte 2 (Kesselring), and Luftflotte 3 (Sperrle): Total 650 bombers, 250 dive bombers, 180 twin-engined fighters, 600 single-engined fighters, 350 recce / maritime patrol aircraft

Italian Corpo Aereo (Fougier): 40 bombers, 40 fighters (bi-planes)

Airborne forces (Student): 7 Parachute Div, 22 Air Landing Div; 500 x Ju 52, 150 gliders

British Team Structure, assuming 30 players: but if there are fewer than 30 players, some roles will be either merged or not played. Note that each player should be given a lapel badge showing his game name and role, together with the 'secret personal briefing' that goes with them. In the case of 'merged' roles the same player may have two or more lapel badges!

War Cabinet [7 members]: Responsible for overseeing and co-ordinating the whole war effort by land, sea and air, with the general aim of sinking any invasion before it lands, and throwing it back into the sea if it does land. If the Nazis attack, you must fight them on the beaches, on the landing grounds, in the fields, in the streets, in the pigsties, in the fish and chip shops and - best of all - in the sewage works. There must be no surrender.*

(* = A draft for a speech the PM is thinking of making in the House)

The PM can authorise the use of mustard gas if necessary (But this decision **MUST** be taken at the very highest level - not at any lower level).

- PM (Churchill) = Chairman of the 'War Cabinet' team
- War Minister (Eden) = To represent the Army in the Cabinet
- Air Minister (Sinclair) = To represent the Air Force in the Cabinet
- First Lord of the Admiralty (A V Alexander) = To represent the Navy in the Cabinet

- Minister of Aircraft Production (Lord Beaverbrook) = To boost aircraft strength
- Minister of Economic Warfare (Dalton) = For subversion / sabotage in France and Kent
- Cabinet Secretary = To help liaison with other agencies and explain Cabinet decisions

Royal Air Force [7 members]: Responsible for setting priorities as between different sectors of Fighter Command; setting targets for Bomber, Coastal and AA Commands, and advising the War Cabinet (via the Air Minister) on air strategy. Fighter Command is divided into a number of Groups: 11 Group will take the brunt of the German attack, as it controls southeast England and London. 10 Group covers southwest England; 12 Group covers the Midlands and East Anglia, and 13 Group covers the North of England and Scotland.

- Chief of Air Staff (Newall) = Chairman of the 'RAF' team
- OC Fighter Command (Dowding) = Making (and explaining) decisions for Fighters
- Bomber Command (Portal) = Making (and explaining) decisions for Bombers
- Coastal Command (Bowhill) = Making (and explaining) decisions for Maritime Patrol
- AA Command (Pile) = Making (and explaining) decisions for AA guns, balloons &c
- Chief Scientist (Lindemann) = Advisor on weapons, devices, tactics &c
- Director of Airfield Maintenance = Monitors, improves and protects the airfields

Royal Navy [7 members]: Responsible for deploying the fleet in the North Sea and English Channel (including minelaying, the maintenance of harbours &c), and advising the War Cabinet (via the First Lord of the Admiralty) on naval strategy.

- First Sea Lord (Adml. Pound) = Chairman of the 'RN' team
- Home Fleet (Tovey) = Commands all warships outside the 'Dover Patrol' area
- Commander of Submarines = Commands all submarines!
- Commander of Dover Patrol = Commands light warships off Essex, Kent and Sussex
- Director of Mine Warfare = Makes (& explains) decisions for Minelaying and Minesweeping

- Director of Harbours = Monitors, improves and if necessary demolishes ports
- Director of the Fleet Air Arm = Commands anti-shipping aircraft (including on carriers)

Army [7 members]: Responsible for deploying the military units in UK; supervising the construction of fortifications; defending airfields, ports and other key points (not least the government!); and advising the War Cabinet (via the Minister of War) on ground strategy.

- CIGS (FM Dill) = Chairman of the 'Army' team
- CiC Home Forces (Ironsides) = Commands all mobile units
- GOC Southern Command (List Divisions) = IC troops in Kent, Sussex and London
- Director of Fortifications = Preparation of beaches and the inland 'GHQ Line'
- OC Garrison Artillery = Coast defence, and bombardment of Calais area from Dover
- OC Field (and even Horse) Artillery = Controls mobile reserves of artillery
- Director of Armoured Fighting Vehicles = Advises on tank warfare

The population of Kent [2 members]: Responsible for making policies for the mobilisation of the civilian population of Kent to resist invasion, in collaboration with the military authorities.

- Lord Lieutenant of Kent = Responsible for civilian morale in Kent
- Brigadier Commanding Local Defence Volunteers in Kent = reports to Min.Econ.Warfare

BRITISH Orders of Battle (as at 8 September. The first task facing the British team is to decide how these forces should be used in the event of invasion. What is the plan?)

RAF

- Fighters:** 700 operational modern fighters for daylight use (Hurricanes and Spitfires)
- Bombers:** 500 operational twin-engined bombers (Whitleys, Hampdens, Wellingtons and Blenheims)
- Maritime Patrol:** 200 Maritime patrol aircraft

- d) **AA Guns:** 1,000 Medium and Heavy AA guns, plus plenty of Light or Very Light AA guns (Bofors / Oerlikon / Lewis &c &c) + anti-barrage balloons & other ingenious devices.

Royal Navy

- a) **The Home Fleet** (Tovey) in Scapa Flow: 5 x battleships, 2 x aircraft carriers, 17 x cruisers and every other type of warship - but many are detached on vital convoy escort duties, and only the lightest types (destroyers and below) can safely operate in the narrow waters of the Channel around the coasts of Sussex, Kent and Essex.
- b) **Dover Patrol** (based in Portsmouth, Dover, Chatham and Harwich): 'Early warning' picket line of armed trawlers and Flotillas of minesweepers and Flotilla of Motor Torpedo Boats / Motor Gun Boats + 12 x Destroyers
- c) **Submarines:** 10 x submarines operational in the Channel and North Sea.
- d) **Fleet Air Arm:** One squadron each of Bombers, Dive bombers and Torpedo bombers stationed around Chatham and a Squadron of Torpedo bombers and a Squadron of Fighters on each of the two aircraft carriers (HMS 'Furious' & 'Argus') in Scapa Flow

Army

- a) **Southern Command central artillery reserve:** 200 guns (all sizes)
- b) **Mobile GHQ Reserve** (X Corps) currently in Surrey:-
- Fully Equipped:** 1st Armoured Div; 21 Infantry Brigade Group; 1 Canadian Bde; 42 Div; 43 Div
- Under Equipped:** 1st Tank Bde, 2nd Armoured Div (less 1 bde)
- c) **Infantry forces capable of only a Static Role:**
- Fully Equipped:** II Corps: 1, 53, 51, 46 Divs - in Kent and Sussex
- III Corps: 59, 2, 44 Divs - In East Anglia
- 3 Independent brigades in London, as garrison
- IV Corps: 55, 15, New Zealand Divs - in Hampshire, Wiltshire and Dorset
- V Corps: 1st London, 4th, Australian Divs - In the Midlands
- VI Corps: 3, 48, 18 Divs - in Scotland
- Under Equipped:** VII Corps: 61, 5, 54 Divs and 2 MG Bde and 24 Tank Bde - In Hertfordshire

VIII Corps: 52, 50, 2nd London Divs and 3 MG Bde and 23 Tank Bde - in the Midlands

IX Corps: 45, 35 Divs and 6 x independent bdes (incl 1 MG Bde) + 21 Tank Bde - in the North of England

d) Fortifications: These have been laid, and are still being laid, all over the place - but especially on all potential invasion beaches, and in the 'GHQ Line' inland.

e) Coastal Artillery: Guns up to 9" (defending all ports) and battery of 15" railway guns in Dover to bombard the Calais area

f) Armoured Fighting Vehicles: The 'Gun Tanks' include heavy ('Infantry') tanks and medium ('Cruiser') tanks:

Order of Battle:	Gun Tanks	MG-armed Light Tanks
1st Armoured Div	180	150
2nd Armoured Div (-)	60	50 (Under-equipped)
Detached Bde of 2AD	32	26 (Under-equipped)
1st Tank Brigade	32	26 (Under-equipped)
21st Tank Bde	32	26 (Under-equipped)
23rd Tank Bde	32	26 (Under-equipped)
24th Tank Bde	32	26 (Under-equipped)
Each of the 19 x Inf Divs	-	12

g) Mustard Gas is stockpiled near potential invasion beaches (in both cylinders and artillery shells). ONLY the PM may authorise its use, although local Army commanders will then be responsible for using it.

h) Local Defence Volunteers: Thousands of 'em! Especially in Walmington on Sea

Personal Briefings for Players

a) BRITISH:

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Prime Minister (Churchill) = Chairman of the 'War Cabinet' team, and responsible for the British side as a whole

The first task for the British team will be to decide deployments (especially for the army, but also other things such as fighter aircraft) and make contingency plans. You can assemble your ideas for this in advance - but you may find that other British players will have different facts at their disposal (not to mention opinions...)

At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you and then lead the War Cabinet in taking the top

decisions, both on your own initiative and when prompted by the umpires (But your decisions should always, of course, be based on the proper advice from the proper authorities). As a minor activity you should also look after Foreign Policy (but there really isn't very much of that in sight at just this moment!).

You must try to make sure that each of the 'Sub-teams' (eg RAF, Navy &c) is working properly, liaising with you and giving you the advice that you need. The Cabinet Secretary can help you in this task.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Cabinet Secretary

It is your duty to help the Prime Minister in his task of running the War Cabinet and ensuring that each of the 'Sub-teams' (eg RAF, Navy &c) is running effectively. You should make (very) brief notes of whatever decisions the War Cabinet reaches, and then communicate & explain them to the other agencies. In general - your job is to help the Cabinet in its business, and especially the Prime Minister in his.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the War Minister (Eden)

Your duty is to represent the Army in the Cabinet. For this you will have to hear what the 'Army' team (especially the CIGS) is telling you about its thinking, and then pass it on to the Cabinet. Then, in turn, you must pass back Cabinet thinking to the 'Army' team. You may also, of course, insert your own original thoughts into both parts of this process - You are a Politician (rather than a military man) after all!

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Air Minister (Sinclair)

Your duty is to represent the RAF in the Cabinet. For this you will have to hear what the 'RAF' team (especially the Chief of the Air Staff) is telling you about its thinking, and then pass it on to the Cabinet. Then, in turn, you must pass back Cabinet thinking to the 'RAF' team. You may also, of course, insert your own original thoughts into both parts of this process - You are a Politician (rather than a military man) after all!

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the First Lord of the Admiralty (A V Alexander)

Your duty is to represent the Navy in the Cabinet. For this you will have to hear what the 'RN' team (especially the First Sea Lord) is telling you about its thinking, and then pass it on to the Cabinet. Then, in turn, you must pass back Cabinet thinking to the 'RN' team. You may also, of course, insert your own original thoughts into both parts of this process - You are a Politician (rather than a military man) after all!

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Minister of Aircraft Production (Lord Beaverbrook)

You are a voluble member of the War Cabinet, where you must argue your corner with maximum energy. Your duty is to maximise aircraft production **AT THE EXPENSE OF ABSOLUTELY EVERYTHING ELSE**. You must divert absolutely every conversation (*except with the umpires, please!*) into stressing this single subject. In particular, stress the need to save London from bombing. This will naturally be no problem for you, Lord Copper, in view of your notoriously powerful (nay, overbearing) personality and business acumen (as has been so well recorded by Mr E. Waugh).

However, please don't harrass the umpires: From time to time ("up to a point, Lord Copper") they will try to supply you with briefings on the state of aircraft production on the assumption that you are already straining every sinew to maximise it - so there is nothing you can say to them to make them produce more aeroplanes. Instead, your task is to raise this vital issue of aircraft production with your Cabinet colleagues (and with the 'RAF' team).

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Minister of Economic Warfare (Dalton)

You are a member of the War Cabinet, responsible for organising subversion and sabotage against the enemy wherever he may be found - but in the present crisis that means especially in NW France & Kent:-

(a) In NW France you have parachuted in agents whom you should direct against particular targets (eg Invasion Barges, Dock Facilities &c).

(b) In Kent you have been inserting 'hides' for 'stay behind parties' to emerge in the enemy's rear after he has invaded. These are professional troops, NOT LDV* - but please also liase with the commander of local LDV for what they should try to target.

You may also think of some other schemes to tell people about - After all you are not only a politician, but also a Cabinet member!

(* Local Defence Volunteers = not Leyland Daf Vans...)

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Chief of the Air Staff
(Newall) = Chairman of the 'RAF' team

At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you and then lead your team in taking the top decisions, both on your own initiative and when prompted by the umpires (But your decisions should always, of course, be based on the proper advice from the proper authorities from both above and below you).

You should also (a) Listen to what the War Cabinet is expecting from you, and (b) Make sure that the Cabinet hears what your team is trying to tell them. The Cabinet Secretary can perhaps help you in this task.

Note that a major enemy air campaign against London started yesterday, 7th September.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the OC Fighter Command
(Dowding) = Making (and explaining to your colleagues) decisions for Fighters

As at 8 September you have 700 operational modern fighters for daylight use (ie Hurricanes and Spitfires). You are responsible for allocating them as between 11 Group (southeast England and London), 10 Group (southwest England), 12 Group (the Midlands and East Anglia including Essex), and 13 Group (the North of England and Scotland). In each 'week' of the game (represented by an hour of real time) you may wish to alter the deployments (eg if the pressure on 11 Group becomes too intense, you might consider a temporary redeployment further to the north. Equally, if the enemy makes a concerted attack on the fleet at Scapa Flow, you may have to divert fighter resources to the Orkneys!). Note that you have a TOP SECRET radar early warning system which increases the ability of fighters to intercept enemy aircraft.

Please also liaise with other relevant departments (eg RN, Bomber Command, Coastal Command, AA Command &c &c).

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the OC Bomber Command
(Portal) = Making (& explaining to your colleagues) decisions for Bombers

As at 8 September you have 500 operational twin-engined bombers (Whitleys, Hampdens, Wellingtons and Blenheims). They are based in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, from where they can reach all parts of France and the western half of Germany (Berlin is at the extreme limit of their range). In each 'week' of the game (represented by an hour of real time) you are responsible for deciding the general outline of their targeting - eg you may want to attack German cities (in revenge for the bombing of London that started yesterday); or the Channel ports in NW

France - and if the Germans land on British soil you may prefer to bomb their beach-heads. You may also have other ideas for targets, perhaps in collaboration with Coastal Command or the Royal Navy &c. Please allocate percentages as between each of these target types, at each stage of the battle.

Please also liaise with other relevant departments (eg Coastal Command, RN &c &c)

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the OC Coastal Command
(Bowhill) = Making (& explaining to your colleagues) decisions for Maritime Patrol aircraft

As at 8 September you have 200 Maritime patrol aircraft, capable of maintaining reconnaissance flights over very long ranges, and also of making bombing attacks on enemy shipping (including U-boats when they can be caught on the surface). In each 'week' of the game (represented by an hour of real time) you are responsible for deciding the general outline of their deployment. You will certainly want to maintain maximum surveillance over the enemy's ports in NW France, as early warning against invasion - but you may also have other priorities: eg you may want to pay particular attention to the Skaggerack, or to the approaches to Scapa Flow, or to Brest &c. Please allocate percentages as between each of these operational areas, at each stage of the battle (and add any more that you may wish).

Please also liaise with other relevant departments (eg RN, Bomber Command &c &c).

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the OC AA Command (Pile) =
Making (and explaining to your colleagues) decisions for AA guns, balloons &c

As at 8 September you have 1,000 Medium and Heavy AA guns, plus plenty of Light or Very Light AA guns (Bofors / Oerlikon / Lewis &c &c), as well as plenty of anti-barrage balloons and (Many!) other ingenious devices. In each 'week' of the game (represented by an hour of real time) you are responsible for deciding the deployment of these resources, eg to London, Kent, Essex, 'Ports', 'Airfields', 'Railways' &c. Please allocate specific percentages as between each of these operational areas, at each stage of the battle.

Please also liaise with other relevant departments (eg Fighter Command [including its radar], Bomber Command, the Director of Airfield Maintenance &c &c).

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Chief Scientist (Lindemann)
= Advisor on weapons, devices, tactics &c

As a scientist, you are aware that although it is generally true that "the bomber will always get through", it can do so much more safely at night rather than in daytime, when facing modern fighter planes directed by radar. Also it is very important to understand that no bomber can possibly guarantee to hit a point target with less than a mile of accuracy - and least of all at night (when the error may be five miles). The inescapable conclusion is that point targets are unreachable by us, using the technology that we have in 1940. Therefore the only targets we can hit are AREA targets - ie cities. You must argue volubly and insistently for this strategy, which is based on solid operational research, to all relevant authorities - eg the War Cabinet, Bomber Command &c. Also feel free to explain any other theories you may have about 'weapons, devices, tactics &c', to anyone you wish.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Director of Airfield Maintenance = Monitors, improves and protects the airfields

Your role in the game is to receive briefings about the state of airfields at any given stage from Fighter Command and Bomber Command - and from the Umpires - and also the order of priority in which they are urgently required to be repaired. Then you should allocate repair facilities as a percentage figure. For example if the Fighter airfields in Kent are being particularly badly damaged, you might want to allocate 80% of your resources to repairing those during that particular phase of the battle - maybe at the expense of the Bomber airfields in Lincolnshire. Please liaise closely with AA Command, for airfield defence.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the First Sea Lord (Adml. Pound) = Chairman of the 'RN' team

At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you and then lead your team in taking the top decisions, both on your own initiative and when prompted by the umpires (But your decisions should always, of course, be based on the proper advice from the proper authorities from both above and below you).

You should also (a) Listen to what the War Cabinet is expecting from you, and (b) Make sure that the Cabinet hears what your team is trying to tell them. The Cabinet Secretary can perhaps help you in this task.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Commander of the Dover Patrol = Commands light warships off Essex, Kent & Sussex

Your task is to ensure the naval defence of the beaches upon which the enemy may attempt an amphibious landing. You will rely heavily on other agencies (eg Coastal Command, the Fleet Air Arm, the Royal Garrison Artillery, the Directors of Submarines, Mines &c &c) and you must liaise with them: but in essence you have three key assets of your own =

- a) A picket line of armed trawlers in mid-Channel. This is your first 'early warning' line to give warning of any attack. The trawlers can sail faster than the enemy's expected invasion barges (which are VERY slow!): but alas not as fast as some of his armed flotilla (eg 'E-Boats')
- b) A fast flotilla of Royal Navy Motor Torpedo Boats and Motor Gun Boats, based in all the ports around the coast. These will be the first to intervene if the trawlers raise an alert.
- c) A force of Destroyers based in Portsmouth, Dover, Chatham and Harwich. In theory they can sink anything the Germans have got by sea - but they face a major air threat (as in Norway and at Dunkirk). At the start of the operation there are TWELVE Destroyers already allocated to the 'Dover Patrol', and they may be reinforced by TEN unallocated Destroyers and TWO Carriers (under Adml. Tovey) from Scapa Flow (You should liaise with Tovey!). But the strength of the force can change at any given point in the operation.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Commander of Submarines
= Commands all submarines!

You command ten submarines in the Channel and North Sea. Please give them tasks - bearing in mind that their torpedoes will probably run underneath the sort of E-Boats and invasion barges that we think the enemy will be using. Your subs will be dangerous only to larger ships, including destroyers.

Make sure you liaise with the surface fleet - and find out about mines and the Fleet Air Arm's anti-sub tactics...

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Commander of the Home Fleet (Tovey) = Commands all warships outside the 'Dover Patrol' area

In Scapa Flow you command a gigantic fleet of battleships, aircraft carriers, cruisers and every other type of warship, which you must lead forward (in the 'Jutland' manner) if the Germans send out any heavy units of their fleet into the central / northern part of the North Sea. However, apart from that possibility, it is unnecessary to list your forces here because: (a) A lot of them are detached on vital convoy escort

duties at any given time, either in the central Atlantic or in the Mediterranean; (b) Only the lightest types (destroyers and below) can safely operate in the narrow waters of the 'Dover Patrol area' (ie the Channel around Sussex, Kent and Essex) where we can expect the enemy to make his attempt at invasion.

Thus your main responsibility during each phase of the operation is to allocate a particular number of Destroyers from the Scapa Flow base to the 'Dover Patrol Area' - but you should also consider the use of heavier units (especially, in collaboration with the Fleet Air Arm, the aircraft carriers). Also liaise with the commander of Submarines.

At the start of the operation there are TEN unallocated Destroyers + TWO Carriers (HMS *Furious* and *Argus*) at Scapa Flow; and TWELVE Destroyers allocated to the 'Dover Patrol'.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Director of Mine Warfare =
Makes (and explains) decisions for Minelaying & Minesweeping

You are responsible for deciding exactly where minefields should be laid to obstruct a possible invasion, in the seas around the SE of England. In the immediate short term you can lay 100 miles of a thin belt, or 50 miles of a thicker one. Further mines may be laid after that, in the medium term.

You are also responsible for deciding where to sweep channels where the enemy may be mining our waters to obstruct the movement of our ships. To do this you have flotillas of minesweepers based in Portsmouth, Dover, Chatham and Harwich. You should liaise with the other naval authorities at every stage.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Director of Harbours =
Monitors, improves and if necessary demolishes ports

Your role in the game is to receive briefings about the state of ports at any given stage from the Army and Navy - and from the Umpires - and to set the order of priority in which they may be urgently required to be repaired. Liaise with AA Command for AA defence.

You may assume that all ports already have preparations in place for demolitions, and if the enemy seems to be about to capture any of them, you can authorise the destruction of that port (and the obstruction of channels with blockships &c).

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the CIGS (FM Dill) = Chairman of the 'Army' team

At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you and then lead your team in taking the top decisions, both on your own initiative and when prompted by the

umpires (But your decisions should always, of course, be based on the proper advice from the proper authorities from both above and below you).

You should also (a) Listen to what the War Cabinet is expecting from you, and (b) Make sure that the Cabinet hears what your team is trying to tell them. The Cabinet Secretary can perhaps help you in this task.

There are stocks of Mustard Gas (in cylinders and artillery shells) near the potential invasion beaches: but if you think you need to use them, you will need the express permission of the Prime Minister.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the CiC Home Forces (Ironsides)
= Commands all mobile Army units

Your role in the game is to direct the main battle in the field (assuming German troops manage to land on English soil - which the Royal Navy & RAF tell us they will not). While the CIGS co-ordinates the wider actions of the Army (including your part of it) with other agencies, you will be the chief decision-maker at a tactical level. You should have a plan for your general posture: eg Will you rely on paramilitary forces (Local Defence Volunteers & others) to defend the beaches while you hold back your main strength for an early counter-attack? - or will you try to put your main strength right up front 'in the shop window'? Will you perhaps prefer to adopt a fully defensive posture, falling back much further, eg to the 'GHQ' line and the South Downs &c?

You have stocks of Mustard Gas (in cylinders and artillery shells) near the potential invasion beaches: but if you think you need to use them, you will need the express permission of the Prime Minister.

You must liaise closely not only with the CIGS, but also Southern Command, the Coastal Artillery, the Field Artillery, the RE, the Tanks, &c &c.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the GOC Southern Command =
IC troops in Kent, Sussex & London

You are the tactical commander, under the CiC Home Forces, of all forces in the SE of England, including artillery, tanks, fortifications and para-military forces (Local Defence Volunteers and others). As such, you must liaise closely with all those authorities, as well as your superiors - and with the umpires who will keep you informed of the tactical development of any battle, should one occur (as we hope it won't!).

You have stocks of Mustard Gas (in cylinders and artillery shells) near the potential invasion beaches: but if you think you need to use them, you will need the express permission of the Prime Minister.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Director of the Fleet Air Arm = Commands anti-shipping aircraft (including on carriers)

You are responsible for targeting enemy shipping using the Fleet Air Arm's bombers, Dive bombers and Torpedo bombers. There is one squadron of each type stationed in or around Chatham. In addition there are two aircraft carriers (*HMS Furious* and *Argus*) based in Scapa Flow, which each carry one squadron of Torpedo bombers and one squadron of Fighters. Note that the carriers are part of the Home Fleet (Adml. Tovey) and they must not be risked too close to the narrow waters of the Channel.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the OC Royal Garrison Artillery = Coast defence, & bombardment of Calais area from Dover

You have two immediate responsibilities: (i) To use all your guns up to 9" (which are mainly located for the defence of ports, from Harwich all the way round to Portsmouth) to destroy moving enemy shipping wherever and whenever it may appear; (ii) To use your battery of 15" railway guns in Dover to bombard the Calais area - not only to destroy the enemy's heavy batteries on Cap Gris Nez, but also to reach the barge harbours and other shipping in the Calais area. Note that these guns are not equipped to engage moving shipping targets.

You should liaise carefully with all other interested agencies, such as Southern Command, the Dover Patrol, the Fleet Air Arm, the Directors of Harbours, Mines &c. &c.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Director of Fortifications = Preparation of beaches & the inland 'GHQ Line'

Your brief is to prepare all fortifications, whether on beaches or inland, under the command of GOC Southern Command. A good start has already been made; but you will have to keep on pouring concrete, laying wire barriers & booby traps &c &c for as long as remains before any invasion: Set priorities on which areas you think are most important. Note (i) That you can lay out ONE two-mile frontage of petrol dischargers, to set the sea alight, on a beach of your choice. Which will it be? (ii) The RAF is responsible for the defence of their airfields against Parachute / Glider attack; but you are responsible for placing obstacles (eg good Kentish hop poles) on all other suitable open fields or beaches. (iii) You have stocks of Mustard Gas (in cylinders and artillery shells) near the potential invasion beaches: but if you think you need to use them, you will need the express permission of the Prime Minister.

You should liaise carefully with all other interested agencies, such as Southern Command, the Royal Garrison Artillery, the Director of Harbours &c. &c.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the OC Field (and even Horse)

Artillery = Controls mobile reserves of artillery, under the command of GOC Southern Command

You control one large central reserve (200 guns) plus one smaller reserve (76 guns) for each Army Corps. The greater the extent to which you can concentrate these resources against a single target, obviously the greater the damage you will be able to inflict on the enemy. Remember some of the barrages seen in the last war included as many as 2,000 guns.

You should liaise carefully with all other interested agencies, such as Southern Command, the Director of Fortifications and the Director of AFVs &c. &c.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Director of Armoured Fighting Vehicles = Advises on tank warfare, under the command of GOC Southern Command

You control the armoured Divisions & armoured Brigades, which include heavy ('Infantry') tanks; medium ('Cruiser') tanks, and light (Machine Gun) tanks. You do not control the light tanks that are integral to Infantry Divisions. The doctrine for armoured warfare is to attempt to use the maximum of these resources concentrated against a single target, in a single blow, although obviously this will require quick decision-making if the shape of the battlefield is changing rapidly.

In your planning you should liaise carefully with all other interested agencies, such as Southern Command, the Director of Fortifications and the Director of Field Artillery &c. &c.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Lord Lieutenant of Kent = Responsible for civilian morale in Kent

At present local morale is very strong, especially in large population centres that have a chance of putting up strong resistance. But this may change rapidly in the event of a surprise attack (eg by Paratroops or the Fifth Column). Also there is a chance of mass panics in the event of particularly heavy bombing (eg, perish the thought! if Canterbury Cathedral were to be destroyed). The umpires will keep you informed as the situation changes.

You should liaise carefully with all local military authorities, especially Southern Command and the Brigadier Commanding Kent Local Defence Volunteers, to help direct resources to 'hot spots' where

they're needed. The War Cabinet may ask you for reports from time to time.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Brigadier Commanding Local Defence Volunteers in Kent = reports to the Minister of Economic Warfare

During a remarkably short time you have succeeded in building up a very fine body of men, who will certainly do their duty with devotion and skill - as coast watchers, air watchers and ground intelligence observers (The Umpires will inform you of major reports). Ultimately the LDV will fight as infantry to defend their home localities (including with the cunning use of booby traps and pill boxes, as demonstrated recently in eg Walmington on Sea). Please design a set of priorities for all the Kent LDV, and liaise with the military authorities, especially the Director of Fortifications and the Minister for Economic Warfare.

b) GERMANS

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Fuhrer (Hitler) = Chair of the 'Government' team

At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you and then lead the Government in taking the top decisions, both on your own initiative and when prompted by the umpires (But your decisions should always, of course, be based on the proper advice from the proper authorities). Your first task will be to take a final decision as between 'Sealion Case Orange' and 'Sealion Case Purple'.

Note that the London 'Blitz' started 7 September on your express orders: this decision is irreversible (and you should fly into a rage and chew the carpet if anyone tries to suggest otherwise). The same applies to the decision to launch 'Sealion' on 10 September - ie not even you can cancel it!

Please liaise with Herr Ribbentrop to design any peace overtures that might be offered to the British - you should try to remain 'flexible' in this area, since it might offer us a cheap victory (and you have always been noted for your clever psychological manipulation of potential opponents - not least Herr Chamberlain in 1938, eh?)

Also you must try to make sure that each of the 'Sub-teams' (eg *Luftwaffe*, OKW &c) is working properly, liaising with you and giving you the advice that you need. Your staff can help you in this task.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Foreign Minister
(Ribbentrop) = To extract favourable peace terms from the British

You must negotiate with the British government (via the Umpires, who are likely to impersonate Swiss diplomats: but also Herr Goebbels may have special means of passing messages to the British population). You must see if you can attract any interest in your initial peace terms, once the invasion has started, that were originally rejected during the time when the British still didn't think the invasion threat was serious. Also encourage the German invasion forces to seek out British persons of influence (starting with Lord Halifax) who may be able to press pro-German arguments with the British government and people.

You are also responsible for maintaining smooth relations with our allies (eg Italy, Vichy France &c), according to the policies as laid down by the Fuhrer.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Minister of Propaganda
(Goebbels / Haw Haw) = To explain our operations to both Germans and British

Your task in the game is to run the propaganda for the Third Reich (and especially its Fuhrer) in any way you can: (i) In your role as Goebbels you should talk to everyone on the German team as often as you can, to encourage them in the war effort! (ii) The umpires are also empowered to admit you into the British team rooms to talk as Lord Haw Haw 'on the radio', PROVIDED that you don't conduct military espionage, and you don't hang around before or after your 'transmissions'. Lord Haw Haw's main aim is to demoralise the enemy - but he may also have a secondary diplomatic purpose, to convey eg serious offers of negotiations to the British government, although they may also go via the Swiss Government (liaise with Herr Ribbentrop, the Fuhrer and the Umpires for the content of such messages).

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Commander in Chief of the Luftwaffe (Goering) = Running the Air Force

The air assault on Britain has been under way for over six weeks, and very great damage has been inflicted on the RAF. We have now been able to lift our fire from the airfields, so that the London Blitz started on 7 September, on the Fuhrer's express orders (today is the 8th).

Your role is to advise the Fuhrer on the future direction of the air campaign, especially from the perspective of the Nazi Party (which is dear to both of you). At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you, especially your subordinates (notably Jenschonnek), then make up your own mind, and then explain the *Luftwaffe* perspective to the Fuhrer and the rest of

the Government team. Of course you can also issue directives to your subordinates to change any policies they may be following.

You are free to make your own choice as between 'Sealion Case Orange' and 'Case Purple'.

From a Nazi perspective you should agree with the Fuhrer's policy of destroying London - at least until the first German lands on English soil, when the bombers should switch to supporting him on the beaches - and the Navy who are transporting his reinforcements.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Commander in Chief, *Kriegsmarine* (Grand Admiral Raeder) = Running the Navy

Your role is to advise the Fuhrer on the future direction of the naval campaign. At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you, especially your subordinates (notably Lutjens), then make up your own mind, and then explain the Navy perspective to the Fuhrer and the rest of the Government team. Of course you can also issue directives to your subordinates to change any policies they may be following.

You are free to make your own choice as between 'Sealion Case Orange' and 'Case Purple'.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the OKW Chief of Staff (Keitel) = Implementing the Fuhrer's Army strategy

Your role is to advise the Fuhrer on the future direction of the Army's campaign. At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you, especially those fellows in OKH who actually command the troops: but the key point to remember is that - like the Fuhrer but unlike OKH - you see this whole operation from the perspective of the Nazi Party (which is dear to you, and to Germany as a whole). In practice, this means that once the army has been landed in England (an operation that is largely the responsibility of the *Kriegsmarine* and *Luftwaffe*), it need do little more than engage the English in diplomatic negotiations. The very fact that we are on their soil will surely be more than enough to scare them into concluding peace, which will allow us to finally settle this whole unnecessary war in the West, and then turn against the main enemy = the Bolscheviks in the East.

Your objective is therefore to establish our army on English beaches, and then help Herr Ribbentropp (and Herr Goebbels) to make peace. Please liaise closely with them, and transmit your conclusions to the Fuhrer, the rest of the Government, and to OKH.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the OKW Chief of Operations
(Jodl) = Help Keitel, and liaise with the 'Front Line Army'

Note that the OKW 'line', as dictated so decisively and masterfully by Keitel, is to follow the Fuhrer's policy on the future direction of the Army's campaign. This differs from that of those fellows in OKH (who command the troops locally), who are far more 'gung ho' because they understand nothing of politics. The key point to remember is that - like the Fuhrer but unlike OKH - OKW can see this whole operation from the perspective of the Nazi Party (which is dear to you, and to Germany as a whole). In practice, this means that once the army has been landed in England (an operation that is largely the responsibility of the *Kriegsmarine* and *Luftwaffe*), it need do little more than engage the English in diplomatic negotiations. The very fact that we are on their soil will surely be more than enough to scare them into concluding peace, which will allow us to finally settle this whole unnecessary war in the West, and then turn against the main enemy = the Bolscheviks in the East.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Chief of OKH (Brauschitsch)
= Chairman of the 'OKH' team

At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you and then lead your team in taking the top decisions, both on your own initiative and when prompted by the umpires (But your decisions should always, of course, be based on the proper advice from the proper authorities from both above and below you).

You should also (a) Listen to what the Government is expecting from you, and (b) Make sure that the Government hears what your team is trying to tell them.

It is important that you understand the difference between OKH and OKW. In OKH you have detailed control over the Army's operations, which in this case mostly means Runstedt's Army Group A. You should liaise with Runstedt to ensure that the best possible military solution to the problem will be achieved - in this case the capture of London. But the problem is that OKW is essentially a political authority that has its own peculiar ideas about how the war should be fought - ie on political rather than military principles. At Dunkirk, earlier this year, we already saw how such doctrinaire attitudes could waste the achievements of our brave spearheads on the ground. Let us make sure that nothing like that happens in England!

Your first task will be to make your own choice between 'Sealion Case Orange' and 'Sealion Case Purple', and advise the Fuhrer accordingly.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the OKH Chief of Staff (Halder)
= Cast a critical eye over the detail of OKW's plans

Your role is to assist & advise Brauschitsch in his leadership of OKH, which is responsible for directing army operations. In particular you should be on the alert to squash any nonsenses that may be suggested by OKW.

It is important that you understand the difference between OKH and OKW. In OKH you have detailed control over the Army's operations, which in this case mostly means Runstedt's Army Group A. You should liaise with Runstedt to ensure that the best possible military solution to the problem will be achieved - in this case the capture of London. But the problem is that OKW is essentially a political authority that has its own peculiar ideas about how the war should be fought - ie on political rather than military principles. At Dunkirk, earlier this year, we already saw how such doctrinaire attitudes could waste the achievements of our brave spearheads on the ground: Let us make sure that nothing like that happens in England!

The greatest difficulty with 'Sealion' is Logistics. We cannot land heavy equipment with the first wave before a port has been captured; therefore the front line troops will have to fight with low scales of artillery, motor transport, armour and many other items. Secondly, assuming a port is captured quickly, great care will still be needed to ensure not only that the heavy equipment can be landed as soon as possible, but that a continuous flow of supplies (especially ammunition and fuel) can be maintained thereafter.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the OKH Chief of Operations
(Greiffenberg) = Liaise with Army Group A

Your role is to assist & advise Brauschitsch in his leadership of OKH, which is responsible for directing army operations. In particular you should liase with Runstedt (Army Group A) to ensure that the best possible military solution to the problem will be achieved - in this case the capture of London.

The greatest difficulty with 'Sealion' is Logistics: firstly to land heavy equipment with the first wave before a port has been captured. Necessarily the front line troops will have to fight with low scales of artillery, motor transport, armour and many other items. Secondly, assuming a port is captured quickly, great care will be needed to ensure not only that the heavy equipment can be landed as soon as possible, but that a continuous flow of supplies (especially ammunition and fuel) can be maintained thereafter.

Make a choice between 'Sealion Case Orange' and 'Case Purple', and advise Brauschitsch. You should also think about the Time of Day at

which you would like the first wave to land on the beaches on 10 Sept: During the night? At dawn? In the morning or the afternoon?

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the GOC Army Group A
(Runstedt) = Chairman of the 'Front Line Army' players

At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you and then lead your players in taking the top decisions, both on your own initiative and when prompted by the umpires (But your decisions should always, of course, be based on the proper advice from the proper authorities from both above & below you).

You are under the direct command of OKH (Brauschitsch), but you should also:

- (a) Listen to what the Government and OKW is expecting from you, and (b) Make sure that the Government and OKW hears what your team is trying to tell them.

The greatest difficulty with 'Sealion' is Logistics: firstly to land heavy equipment with the first wave before a port has been captured. Necessarily the front line troops will have to fight with low scales of artillery, motor transport, armour and many other items. Secondly, assuming a port is captured quickly, great care will be needed to ensure not only that the heavy equipment can be landed as soon as possible, but that a continuous flow of supplies (especially ammunition and fuel) can be maintained thereafter.

You should also think about the Time of Day at which you would like the first wave to land on the beaches on 10 Sept: During the night? At dawn? In the morning or the afternoon?

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the GOC 6th Army (Reichenau)
= Commanding assault troops

You are responsible for deploying troops on the ground and directing the battle, under the orders of Army Group A (Runstedt). 16th Army is the senior partner among the three assault armies (ie alongside 6th and 9th Armies), so you should liaise closely with the commanders of 16th and 9th Armies.

The problems facing assault troops in 'Sealion' are:

- a) Landing on a hostile beach. Intensive training, in collaboration with the Navy and Air Force, has already been conducted. The key is to identify and neutralise enemy pill boxes. Note that the first wave will necessarily be light in artillery, due to the difficulties of transport.
- b) Rapid consolidation of the beach against counter-attack and landing 2nd echelon supplies

- c) Further advance out of the beach area AS FAST AS POSSIBLE, concentrating on a few well-chosen targets in depth with maximum force and speed. The problem here is that we will have little transport available beyond bicycles and whatever we can requisition from the local population. Apart from some 'amphibious tanks' our armoured / mechanised forces will arrive only in the second wave. But the unloading of these forces will not be possible unless we first capture at least one port.

You should also think about the Time of Day at which you would like the first wave to land on the beaches on 10 Sept: During the night? At dawn? In the morning or the afternoon?

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Director of Panzer Forces
(Guderian) = Commanding tank warfare

You are responsible for the correct use of all the tanks, armoured and motorised forces commanded by 6th, 9th and 16th Armies.

In the first wave there will be four battalions of amphibious tanks that should be used in close support of the assault infantry. In the second wave 4 x Panzer and 2 x Motorised Divisions (and 2 x SS Mot Regiments) will be available - but they will not be able to land unless a port is available. These forces must be set on the road as fast as possible to make maximum impact - preferably with a deep penetration on a narrow front, in such a way that they can surround and isolate a major segment of the enemy army in a 'Kessel' - as we did so well in May. Note also that it is essential that our Panzer forces be provided with a continuous flow of supplies (especially ammunition and fuel) to sustain them after their initial landing. Once again, a great deal will depend upon the number of workable ports we can seize.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the GOC 16th Army (Busch) =
Commanding assault troops

You have the lead role in deploying troops on the ground and directing the battle, under the orders of Army Group A (Runstedt). 16th Army is the senior partner among the three assault armies (ie alongside 6th and 9th Armies), so you should liaise closely with the commanders of 6th and 9th Armies.

The problems facing assault troops in 'Sealion' are:

- a) Landing on a hostile beach. Intensive training, in collaboration with the Navy and Air Force, has already been conducted. The key is to identify and neutralise enemy pill boxes. Note that the first wave will necessarily be light in artillery, due to the difficulties of transport.
- b) Rapid consolidation of the beach against counter-attack and landing 2nd echelon supplies

c) Further advance out of the beach area **AS FAST AS POSSIBLE**, concentrating on a few well-chosen targets in depth with maximum force and speed. The problem here is that we will have little transport available beyond bicycles and whatever we can requisition from the local population. Apart from some 'amphibious tanks' our armoured / mechanised forces will arrive only in the second wave. But the unloading of these forces will not be possible unless we first capture at least one port.

You should also think about the Time of Day at which you would like the first wave to land on the beaches on 10 Sept: During the night? At dawn? In the morning or the afternoon?

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the GOC 9th Army (Strauss) =
Commanding assault troops

You have the second role, after 16th Army, in deploying troops on the ground and directing the battle, under the orders of Army Group A (Runstedt). 16th Army is the senior partner among the three assault armies (ie alongside 6th and 9th Armies), so you should liaise closely with the commanders of 16th and 6th Armies.

The problems facing assault troops in 'Sealion' are:

- a) Landing on a hostile beach. Intensive training, in collaboration with the Navy and Air Force, has already been conducted. The key is to identify and neutralise enemy pill boxes. Note that the first wave will necessarily be light in artillery, due to the difficulties of transport.
- b) Rapid consolidation of the beach against counter-attack and landing 2nd echelon supplies
- c) Further advance out of the beach area **AS FAST AS POSSIBLE**, concentrating on a few well-chosen targets in depth with maximum force and speed. The problem here is that we will have little transport available beyond bicycles and whatever we can requisition from the local population. Apart from some 'amphibious tanks' our armoured / mechanised forces will arrive only in the second wave. But the unloading of these forces will not be possible unless we first capture at least one port.

You should also think about the Time of Day at which you would like the first wave to land on the beaches on 10 Sept: During the night? At dawn? In the morning or the afternoon?

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Director of Military Intelligence = To report on enemy locations and plans

Your task is to liaise with the commanders of 6th, 9th and 16th Armies, to collect whatever reports on the enemy they may have, but especially

with the Umpires, to get Intelligence Briefings that you can then relay back to the commanders of 6th, 9th and 16th Armies. Note that your remit is entirely based on the operations of ground forces: you need not concern yourself with Air or Naval intelligence.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the C1C High Seas Fleet
(Lutjens) = Chairman of the 'Navy' team

At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you and then lead your team in taking the top decisions, both on your own initiative and when prompted by the umpires (But your decisions should always, of course, be based on the proper advice from the proper authorities from both above and below you).

Your first task will be to make an informed choice as between 'Sealion Case Orange' and 'Case Purple', and advise Raeder accordingly.

You should also (a) Listen to what the Government is expecting from you, and (b) Make sure that the Government hears what your team is trying to tell them.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Chief of Naval Staff
(Schniewind) = To help Lutjens with all surface ships

Your role is to assist and advise Adml Lutjens in all aspects of naval policy. The first task will be to make a choice between 'Case Orange' and 'Case Purple', from a naval point of view (EG with ref. range from the fleet's bases in Wilhelmshaven & Kiel; ease of defence against British naval attack from Scotland & elsewhere; best cross-Channel passage for the barges; potential availability of port facilities for unloading steamers &c &c). You should consult as widely as possible on this issue. Once it has been resolved, your task will be to help Adml. Lutjens use his surface ships to best effect as the battle unfolds.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Commander of U-boats
(Doenitz) = To sink the Royal Navy and its merchant ships

You are responsible for deploying U-Boats to the areas in which they are likely to be of most use to the Invasion. Obviously this will depend on whether 'Case Orange' or 'Case Purple' is adopted as the final plan (and you should express an opinion on which of them will be best for the U-Boat service. Presumably 'Orange' concentrates enemy targets into a narrower sea, whereas 'Purple' would be nearer to U-boat bases in Germany: think of further arguments!). In each 'week' of the game (represented by an hour of real time) you may make changes in your deployment.

Now that our Surface Navy has been halved in strength during the Norway campaign, a proportionately greater onus of responsibility has fallen on the U-Boat service to sink enemy shipping: a priority should be placed on sinking their destroyers. It is admittedly unfortunate that our torpedoes tend to run below shallow-draft vessels such as MTBs.

You should liaise as closely as possible with Adml. Lutjens and all other naval authorities, on all these issues

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Director of Coastal Artillery
= To control the Dover Straits from Cap Gris Nez

The master-plan for 'Sealion' recognises that the Navy suffered heavy losses in Norway, and therefore that it will be relatively weak in the Dover Straits during our invasion. Fortunately your batteries of heavy guns on Cap Gris Nez represent firepower equivalent to that of a whole heavy battleship in these waters, so you can reassure anyone who is interested that you will be able to blow any enemy ships out of the water, if they arrive anywhere within 40 km of your position. You will also be able to destroy the docks in Dover. Go to it!

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Commander of Barges =
Organising transport for the Army

In the long view of history I am sure that your role in 'Operation Sealion' will turn out to have been far more important than that of any number of Fuhrers, Field Marshals, Grand Admirals &c &c, because - obviously - no invasion can possibly happen unless the army is transported to England by canal barges.

The main difficulty with Barges is their incredibly slow average speed of just one knot. The second main difficulty with Barges is their utter vulnerability to bad weather. The third main difficulty with Barges is their utter vulnerability to enemy attack (although at least their draft is so shallow that they will float serenely over all mines and torpedoes!). The fourth main difficulty with Barges is their clumsiness not only in manoeuvres, but also in unloading troops onto open beaches (incidentally, there are far fewer of those on the SE English coastline than some people imagine: please try to ensure that your barges do not try to discharge their troops into deep water at the foot of the famous 'White Cliffs!'). Oh yes, and the fifth main difficulty with Barges is that for as long as they are busy invading England, their absence from Germany and other countries will be absolutely crippling to the industrial economies there. Apart from all that, Barges seem to be a pretty damn wonderful transportation system!

The main difficulty with Steamers, Liners and other sea transports is that they cannot easily unload heavy equipment unless they can dock at a workable port. You must agitate as stridently as possible to all Army and Navy authorities that the capture of ports

should be the absolutely highest priority in all the operations of the first wave.

In any case and in general, you should liaise with all other authorities as widely as possible, and particularly with the Director of Naval Supply, who is in many respects your 'deputy' or your 'chief of staff'.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Director of Mine Warfare =
Responsible for minelaying and minesweeping

You are responsible for deciding exactly where minefields should be laid to obstruct enemy naval interventions against our invasion, in the seas around the SE of England. You can lay a 30 km long belt of mines (or two of 15 km!) every 24 hours throughout the invasion.

You are also responsible for deciding where to sweep channels where the enemy may be mining our waters to obstruct the movement of our ships. To do this you have flotillas of minesweepers based in Le Havre, Boulogne, Dunkirk, Zeebrugge, Rotterdam and Emden. You should liaise with the other naval authorities at every stage.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Director of Naval Supply =
Organising logistics for the assault troops

Your job is to help the Commander of Barges in his task of delivering the assault troops in the first wave, and thereafter of maintaining a steady flow of supplies (especially ammunition and fuel) to the forces in England.

The main difficulty with Barges is their incredibly slow average speed of just one knot. The second main difficulty with Barges is their utter vulnerability to bad weather. The third main difficulty with Barges is their utter vulnerability to enemy attack (although at least their draft is so shallow that they will float serenely over all mines and torpedoes!). The fourth main difficulty with Barges is their clumsiness not only in manoeuvres, but also in unloading troops onto open beaches (incidentally, there are far fewer of those on the SE English coastline than some people imagine: please try to ensure that your barges do not try to discharge their troops into deep water at the foot of the famous 'White Cliffs!'). Oh yes, and the fifth main difficulty with Barges is that for as long as they are busy invading England, their absence from Germany and other countries will be absolutely crippling to the industrial economies there. Apart from all that, Barges seem to be a pretty damn wonderful transportation system!

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possible to all Army and Navy authorities that the capture of ports should be the absolutely highest priority in all the operations of the first wave.

In any case and in general, you should liaise with all other authorities as widely as possible, and particularly with the Commander of Barges.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the **Vichy French Prefect** of the Pas de Calais area = Running the Channel Ports (mainly Le Havre, Dieppe, Boulogne, Calais and Dunkirk)

Monsieur, you are of course subordinate to the German military authorities, since all the coastal *Départements* have been designated as a 'military zone'. Nevertheless, in liaison with the *Boche* Germans you can still do a great deal to protect not only their invasion fleet and army, but also your own French citizens and infrastructure. You should argue for maximum Flak and Fighter cover for your population centres against enemy bombers; and also for naval protection and coastal artillery against bombardment from the sea. In particular, please can those beastly shore-based heavy guns in Dover be prevented from bombarding Calais? Oh yes, and I hope you will demand an accelerated rebuilding programme in Dunkirk and Calais, where the English caused so much damage in the spring. In return you can offer the maximum collaboration of your people, your Police and Militia, with the *Gestapo*, in their tireless search for enemy spies and saboteurs (who seem to be numerous just at present).

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the **Chief of Air Staff** (Jenschonnek) = Chairman of the 'Luftwaffe' team

At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you and then lead your team in taking the top decisions, both on your own initiative and when prompted by the umpires (But your decisions should always, of course, be based on the proper advice from the proper authorities from both above & below you).

Your first task will be to make your own choice as between 'Sealion Case Orange' and 'Sealion Case Purple', and advise Goering accordingly.

You should also (a) Listen to what the Government is expecting from you, and (b) Make sure that the Government hears what your team is trying to tell them.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Chief of Air Operations
(Waldau) = Helping Jenschonnek co-ordinate all air operations

The air assault on Britain has been under way for over six weeks, and very great damage has been inflicted on the RAF. We have now been able to lift our fire from the airfields, so that the London Blitz started on 7 September, on the Fuhrer's express orders (today is the 8th). However, the Air Staff note that our bombers continue to be met by enemy fighters with depressing regularity - so it cannot yet be said that the RAF has been totally obliterated. Full fighter escorts must continue to accompany all sorties!

You have no option but to agree with the Fuhrer's policy of destroying London - at least until the first German lands on English soil, when the bombers should switch to supporting the Army on the beaches - and the Navy who are transporting its reinforcements. Note that in each 'week' of the game (represented by an hour of real time) you will have a chance to re-direct your forces.

A Note on Aircraft Types

Bombers (Ju88, He111, Do17): fly by day or night against large targets (factories, airfields &c)

Dive bombers (Ju87): fly only by day, against point targets (ships, signal stations, trains &c)

Twin-engined fighters (Me110): longer range escorts for bombers, and night fighter roles

Single-engined fighters (Me109): high performance short range escort for bombers

Recce / maritime patrol aircraft (various types / ranges): spot shipping and carry some bombs

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Commander of Luftflotte 2
(Kesselring) = Commander of front line aircraft

The air assault on Britain has been under way for over six weeks, and very great damage has been inflicted on the RAF. We have now lifted our bombardments from the airfields, so that the London Blitz started on 7 September, on the Fuhrer's express orders (today is the 8th). Note that in each 'week' of the game (represented by an hour of real time) you will have a chance to re-direct your forces.

Note that Sperrle (Luftflotte 3) is your subordinate and effectively your Chief of Staff. Since the policy of the *Luftwaffe* is unitary, you will both be following the same doctrine.

A Note on Aircraft Types

Bombers (Ju88, He111, Do17): fly by day or night against large targets (factories, airfields &c)

- Dive bombers (Ju87): fly only by day, against point targets (ships, signal stations, trains &c)
- Twin-engined fighters (Me110): longer range escorts for bombers, and night fighter roles
- Single-engined fighters (Me109): high performance short range escort for bombers
- Recce / maritime patrol aircraft (various types / ranges): spot shipping and carry some bombs

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Commander of *Luftflotte 3*
(Sperrle) = Commander of front line aircraft

The air assault on Britain has been under way for over six weeks, and very great damage has been inflicted on the RAF. We have now been lifted our bombing from the airfields, so that the London Blitz started on 7 September, on the Fuhrer's express orders (today is the 8th). Note that in each 'week' of the game (represented by an hour of real time) you will have a chance to re-direct your forces.

Your task is to co-operate with Kesselring (*Luftflotte 2*) and act, in effect, as his 'Chief of Staff'. *Luftflotte 3* is secondary to, and smaller than, *Luftflotte 2*. *Luftwaffe* policy in the bombardment of Britain is unified and co-ordinated: therefore you must consult actively with Kesselring in forming policy - but ultimately you are his subordinate.

A Note on Aircraft Types

- Bombers (Ju88, He111, Do17): fly by day or night against large targets (factories, airfields &c)
- Dive bombers (Ju87): fly only by day, against point targets (ships, signal stations, trains &c)
- Twin-engined fighters (Me110): longer range escorts for bombers, and night fighter roles
- Single-engined fighters (Me109): high performance short range escort for bombers
- Recce / maritime patrol (various types / ranges): spot shipping and carry some bombs &c

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Commander of Airborne Forces (Student) = Paratroops & Air Landing

You are responsible for deciding where the airborne force should be used. Obviously it will depend on whether 'Case Orange' or 'Case Purple' is adopted by the high command; but in either case you should aim to capture a workable airfield that is close to the beaches where our Army is landing, so that (a) Your *Luftwaffe* troops (Paras and Air Landing) will be able to contribute to the battle for the beaches,

eg by disrupting the enemy's rear; (b) You will be able to air-lift supplies and further reinforcements into your airfield to provide an expanding base in the battle. *Luftflotte 2* may even be able to operate fighters and light bombers from British soil! (c) When the Army has advanced from the beaches to link up with you, it can take over airfield defence duties and release your men for further operations. As for timing, in the interests of achieving surprise I would personally advise that your first drop should be at dawn on the day the Army lands on the beaches - but you may have other ideas.

A Note on Aircraft Types: Transports (Ju 52) can carry 12 troops & tow 1 glider. Allow 2 sorties per day. Gliders (DFS230) can carry 8 troops (on a 'once only' basis!). Hence 500 x Ju 52 + 150 gliders can carry the entire Para Division on the first day in two drops, or the Air Landing Div. (which has heavier equipment) during the two days after that, in four drops. Note that the Ju 52 cannot carry all parts of an ordinary Infantry Division, but only its lighter elements - and of course supplies.

A Note on Airfields: in the English 11 Group Area are: Manston (Ramsgate); Hawkinge (Folkestone); Lympne (Hythe); Eastchurch, Detling, West Malling, Sheerness, Rochester, Chatham (all in the Chatham area); Biggin Hill, Kenley, Croydon (all in the Croydon area); Tangmere (Portsmouth); Farnborough, Odiham (between Basingstoke and Guildford)

In 12 Group Area there are: Hornchurch (near London docks); North Weald, Debden, Northolt (all North London); Rochford (Southend); Martlesham (Harwich) - and DUXFORD!

In 10 Group Area (further West) there are: Andover, Middle Wallop (both on Salisbury Plain); Portland, Exeter.

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFING for the Commander of the Italian *Corpo Aereo* (Fougier)

The air assault on Britain has been under way for over six weeks, and very great damage has been inflicted on the RAF. We have now been able to lift our fire from the airfields, so that the London Blitz started on 7 September, on the Fuhrer's express orders (today is the 8th). Note that in each 'week' of the game (represented by an hour of real time) you will have a chance to re-direct your forces.

A Note on Aircraft Types

Bombers (BR20): an aircraft type so pathetic that it doesn't feature in my reference book!

Fighters (CR42 Biplane): Ditto

SECRET PERSONAL BRIEFINGS for the UMPIRES

Welcome! You are all very central to the success or failure of this game!

However, please note that the structure of this game is not like that of a normal '*Kriegsspiel*' / Map Wargame, or Megagame, in which there are many turns, in each of which a set of detailed player 'orders' are processed in detail by a large team of umpires. Instead, it is intended to be much nearer to the structure of a Diplomatic Crisis Game, in which the players spend most of their time talking to each other, referring to umpires only relatively rarely and lightly. That is why I am prepared to go up to 60 players with only about 10 umpires (although on the day it is quite likely that we will get no more than about 40 players).

In any case we have effectively got little more than 4 hours of playing time. This means that we will be able to cover only two main playing (or 'decision-making') phases:-

- i) Initial planning and getting the Germans (or whatever small percentage of them will be able to manage it!) across the Channel. The key question for German players is to determine just where they will be aiming for; and for British players to plan their deployments and how they will fight - in this phase while the Germans are still at sea. Two 'weekly' rounds of dice rolling will take place in this phase: one to see what damage is caused before the invasion is launched (mostly by air), and one to see how many Germans will be able to get ashore in the first wave (especially with the naval battle).
- ii) Landing the Germans on the beach and then exploiting inland. The key question for German players is to determine the main thrust lines: for British to decide the main plan of defence on land. Note that in this phase I expect the volume of business will become too much for the umpires, so we will have to start fudging wildly: we don't have the resources to conduct a careful map game. But we do need to draw some approximate lines on the map to establish German progress (or lack of it), so once again dice will be rolled in two rounds: one to resolve the battle of the beaches (and on the *Fallschirmjaeger's* target airfield), and one to see what happens in the 'break out'.

- After which, in the debrief, we will be able to make some sort of (also somewhat fudged) assessment of (iii) = Whatever final outcome might have resulted from it all.

In all three cases the umpires will have to make very speedy (but very generalised) assessments of outcomes, and communicate them to the players.

A key point for umpires to note is that I hope the game will consist mainly of an awful lot of players talking to **each other** interminably (You may note that in the personal briefings for very many players the phrase recurs: <<It is your responsibility to listen to the people around you>>). Umpires should help this process simply by wandering round among the players and asking them what they are doing, what plans they have for their department &c (You know - the typical 'Royal Family' questions such as "And what do YOU do?"). Encourage players to communicate with other players as much as possible.

However, some players have briefings that encourage them to enter into specific dialogues with umpires, so there are certain areas of expertise that the umpires will be expected to master (See my list of SPECIFIC UMPIRE DUTIES, below). When asked questions of 'fact' by players, the umpires should give quick and decisive answers (off the top of their heads if need be) but should definitely NOT reply with either counter-questions or detailed statistics that may unduly prolong the experience. We need SHORT, SHARP, SNAPPY and MINIMAL umpiring.

Equally the umpires must not expect to get into detailed discussions of minutiae. This game must (alas) be VERY BROAD BRUSH. Big thumbs: small maps. For example British "Bombers" are not really Hampdens, Whitleys, Wellingtons and Blenheims, but just undifferentiated "Bombers". Some trainspotter is bound to point out the technical differences between each type - but umpires must refuse to be drawn!

Once you have received my recommended list of specific duties (*see below*), each umpire team is encouraged to scrutinise them and re-write them if you think it will help. Also try to envisage which umpire in any given 'team' (ie Land / Sea / Air) will be responsible for precisely what. And don't hesitate to ask me any questions that occur to you, naturally.

Umpire Roles

- 'Co-Ordinator' (*C'est moi!*): I will conduct the initial team briefing for the Germans - but after that I will wander round trouble-shooting generally and, of course, answering as many questions as I can, from umpires as much as players.
- Politics, morale and propaganda umpire
- Air umpire
- Assistant air umpire
- Naval umpire
- Assistant Naval umpire
- Ground umpires x 3 (one of whom will conduct the initial British team briefing)

Leading Players

A number of 'leading player' roles can be identified which, as far as possible before the game starts, the game designer should try to ensure are filled by people who are competent in the general skills of 'running a committee':-

German: Adolf Hitler; Gen Student (Airborne Forces); Grand Admiral Raeder (*Kriegsmarine*); Goebbels / Lord Haw Haw (Propaganda); OKW Chief of Staff (Keitel), Implementing the Fuhrer's Army strategy, and OKW Chief of Operations (Jodl), to help Keitel and liaise with the 'Front Line Army' team; H Goering (Commander of the *Luftwaffe*)

British: PM Winston Churchill; Alexander (First Lord of the Admiralty); Sinclair (Air Minister); Eden (War Minister)

LIST OF SPECIFIC UMPIRE DUTIES

Note that up to half of the players should not need any record-keeping or other umpire attention (apart from general encouragement & question-answering), since their main role will be to talk to other players in a 'free-form' sort of way. But the following roles will need some level of specific umpiring (Some extracts from the relevant 'secret personal briefings' are quoted below, although the full briefings may be found above):-

a) Responsibilities of the 'Politics, Morale, Propaganda &c Umpire':

BRITISH

Prime Minister: HE ALONE may authorise the use of Mustard Gas near the potential invasion beaches. The Umpire must supervise transmission of the news of any decision to use gas or not, especially to the ground battle umpires.

The Umpire, 'impersonating a Swiss diplomat', must also transmit any foreign policy announcement that Churchill wants to make to any enemy player (notably Ribbentrop).

If Churchill wants to arrest faint-hearts or potential collaborators (eg Lord Halifax) you should negotiate with him and 'paint a picture' as your imagination may dictate!

Lord Lieutenant of Kent: <<At present local morale is very strong, especially in large population centres that have a chance of putting up strong resistance. But this may change rapidly in the event of a surprise attack (eg by Paratroops or the Fifth Column). Also there is a chance of mass panics in the event of particularly heavy bombing (eg if Canterbury Cathedral were to be destroyed). The umpires will keep you informed as the situation changes.>> The Umpire must 'paint a picture' as the situation evolves, including spread fears about spies, traitors, paratroops dressed as Nuns &c. Roll dice to find how seriously civilian morale is affected by any heavy blow (6 is good for morale; 1 is very bad indeed). Note that if the Germans attack Essex rather than Kent, the 'Lord Lieutenant of Kent' player will immediately be moved to the role of Lord Lieutenant of Essex! *(but with the same briefing)*.

GERMAN

Foreign Minister (Ribbentrop): <<You must negotiate with the British government (via the Umpires, but also via Herr Goebbels, who may have special means of passing messages to the British population). You must see if you can attract any interest in your initial peace terms, once the invasion has started, that were originally rejected during the time when the British still didn't think the invasion threat was serious.>> The Umpire (as a 'Swiss diplomat') must transmit Ribbentrop's messages to Churchill.

<<Also encourage the German invasion forces to seek out British persons of influence (starting with Lord Halifax) who may be able to press pro-German arguments with the British government and people.>> The Umpire must talk about this to German 'front line army' players, and insert occasional names of collaborators who have been identified in any areas captured (If in doubt, make 'em up!). Conversely there is an authentic Gestapo 'Wanted' list of persons who must be arrested, to prompt your discussions.(33)

Minister of Propaganda (Goebbels / Lord Haw Haw): <<Your task in the game is to run the propaganda for the Third Reich (and especially its Fuhrer) in any way you can. **The umpires are empowered to admit you into the British team rooms to talk as Lord Haw Haw** as if 'on the radio', PROVIDED that you don't conduct military espionage, and you don't hang around before or after your 'transmissions'. Lord Haw Haw's main aim is to demoralise the enemy - but he may also have a secondary diplomatic purpose, to convey eg serious offers of negotiations to the British government, although they may also go via the Swiss Government (Liase with Herr Ribbentrop, the Fuhrer & the Umpires for the content of such messages).>> The Umpire must supervise all visits by Goebbels (as Haw Haw) into the Brit playing rooms. Concentrate especially on the Brit Government - but take him to the Air, Sea and Land rooms too, if there's time.

OKW Chief of Staff (Keitel) = Implementing the Fuhrer's Army strategy (some would say as a 'Poodle'): <<The key point to remember is that - like the Fuhrer but unlike OKH - you see this whole operation from the perspective of the Nazi Party (which is dear to you, and to Germany as a whole). In practice, this means that once the army has been landed in England (an operation that is largely the responsibility of the *Kriegsmarine* and *Luftwaffe*), it need do little more than engage the English in diplomatic negotiations. The very fact that we are on their soil will surely be more than enough to scare them into concluding peace, which will allow us to finally settle this whole unnecessary war in the West, and then turn against the main enemy = the Bolscheviks in the East.>> The Umpire must keep reminding Keitel (and everyone else) about all this - especially the Communist threat.

The Vichy French Prefect of the Pas de Calais area = Running the Channel Ports (mainly Le Havre, Dieppe, Boulogne, Calais & Dunkirk). <<*Monsieur*, you are of course subordinate to the German military authorities, since all the coastal *Départements* have been designated as a 'military zone'. Nevertheless, in liaison with the *Beebe* Germans you can still do a great deal to protect not only their invasion fleet and army, but also your own French citizens and infrastructure. You should argue for maximum Flak and Fighter cover for your population centres against enemy bombers; and also for naval protection and coastal artillery against bombardment from the sea. In particular, please can those beastly shore-based heavy guns in Dover be prevented from bombarding Calais? Oh yes, and I hope you will demand an accelerated rebuilding programme in Dunkirk and Calais, where the English

caused so much damage in the spring. In return you can offer the maximum collaboration of your people, your Police and Militia, with the *Gestapo*, in their tireless search for enemy spies and saboteurs (who seem to be numerous just at present).>> The Umpire must keep stirring this pot. Help create meetings between the French and Germans that can produce discussions of the 'issues' - and adjudicate outcomes.

b) Responsibilities of the Air Umpires:

Work on a cycle of making and reporting calculations for every (notional) 'Game Week' during every 'Real Hour' of play (give or take). In each case start by finding out what the *Luftwaffe* wants to do in that game week; then compare it with RAF plans, and then calculate the losses to both sides in the order: fighters, bombers, coastal aircraft, AA. Report to players (and in many cases other umpires) at every stage. Note that if aircraft make a significant impact on naval or ground force targets (eg Bomber Command hits barges in the Boulogne docks) you will have to make a specific report to naval / ground players and umpires, as well as air players.

BRITISH

Lord Beaverbrook: <<From time to time ("up to a point, Lord Copper" [34]) the umpires will try to supply you with briefings on the state of aircraft production, but on the assumption that you are already straining every sinew to maximise it - so there is nothing you can say to them to make them produce more aeroplanes.>> The Umpire must give him some figures at the end of each 'game week'. Give him fighter numbers at one moment, bombers at another and Coastal Command aircraft at another. But the timespan covered by the game will be less than a month, so you should expect to be able to issue figures for 4 x 'game weeks' - and these figures should always (by amazing coincidence!) be just about the same (plus or minus) as the figures for combat losses during that game week!

Chief of Air Staff (Newall): The Umpire is responsible for monitoring the enemy air campaign against London, which started yesterday. Give Newall (and any other Brit) the broadest possible indication (Make up stories, eg 'The docks are burning'; '500 houses were destroyed last night'; 'The fire services are overstretched').

OC Fighter Command (Dowding): <<As at 8 September you have 700 operational modern fighters for daylight use (ie Hurricanes and Spitfires). You are responsible for allocating them as between 11 Group (southeast England and London), 10 Group (southwest England), 12 Group (the Midlands and East Anglia, including

Essex), and 13 Group (the North of England and Scotland).>> At the end of every 'game week' (ie probably about four times during the game as a whole) the Umpire must make a set of calculations. Compare the number of fighters in any Group with the number of fighters (1 or 2-engined, no matter) the enemy is sending against that Group area. Assess losses: British lose a quarter the number of German (NOT Italian!) fighters present (eg if the Germans send 400 fighters to that sector in that week, the Brits lose 100... and tell Beaverbrook that he has built 95! Tell the Germans the Brits have lost six times the real number = in this case they should claim 600 kills). Then go on to assess the German and Italian losses, which will be one fighter and one bomber (incl. dive bombers) for every British fighter lost. (In this example, the Axis lose 100 fighters + 100 bombers. Tell the Brits that they have lost twice that = they will claim 200 enemy fighters and 200 bombers shot down). At the end of every game week give all air players a chance to re-allocate their resources to other sectors.

OC Bomber Command (Portal): <<As at 8 September you have 500 operational twin-engined bombers (Whitleys, Hampdens, Wellingtons and Blenheims). They are based in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, from where they can reach all parts of France and the western half of Germany (Berlin is at the extreme limit of their range).>> During any 'game week' in which British bombers are attacking targets on the continent, the Umpire must make an assessment of losses: 10% of the bombers fail to return (= a number that Lord Beaverbrook will immediately, more or less, make good!), and 'significant damage' is caused to whatever targets they were aiming at. Don't be much more specific than that (but you can elaborate a story around that central idea). However, in the case of attacks on invasion barges in French harbours, you should tell both sides that 5% have been sunk (and liaise with the naval umpire with these figures).

OC Coastal Command (Bowhill): <<As at 8 September you have 200 Maritime patrol aircraft, capable of maintaining reconnaissance flights over very long ranges, and also of making bombing attacks on enemy shipping (including U-boats when they can be caught on the surface).>> In every game week the Umpire must report as much as possible of what Coastal Command can see, all around the coasts of the British Isles (and especially the movements of any German surface vessels. Tell the whole story!). In each 'game week' roll 2 x D6 for how many Coastal Command aircraft are lost (= a number that Lord Beaverbrook will immediately, more or less, make good!); and then roll 1 x D6 for attacks on U-Boats. You sink one for a '6' on the die!

OC AA Command (Pile): <<As at 8 September you have 1,000 Medium and Heavy AA guns, plus plenty of Light or Very Light AA guns (Bofors / Oerlikon / Lewis &c &c), as well as plenty of anti-barrage balloons and (Many!) other ingenious devices. You are responsible for deciding the deployment of these resources, eg to London, Kent, Essex, 'Ports', 'Airfields', 'Railways' &c. Please allocate specific percentages as between each of these operational areas, at each stage of the battle.>> Umpire must monitor the deployment of AA weapons. If you notice a large concentration of AA in any particular area / target type that is being particularly targeted by the *Luftwaffe*, add 20% to German air losses.

Director of Airfield Maintenance: <<Your role in the game is to receive briefings about the state of airfields at any given stage from Fighter and Bomber Commands - and from the Umpires - and also the order of priority in which they are urgently required to be repaired. Then you should allocate repair facilities as a percentage figure.>> Umpire must watch where the Germans are trying to bomb airfields, and report according to the concentration of attack in each group area (For each specific field in each group area make up [from the top of your head] a level of damage: 'light', 'medium', 'heavy', or 'airfield inoperable').

List of fighter airfields: In 11 Group Area are: Manston (Ramsgate); Hawkinge (Folkestone); Lympne (Hythe); Eastchurch, Detling, West Malling, Sheerness, Rochester, Chatham (all in the Chatham area); Biggin Hill, Kenley, Croydon (all in the Croydon area); Tangmere (Portsmouth); Farnborough, Odiham (between Basingstoke and Guildford)

In 12 Group Area there are: Hornchurch (near London docks); North Weald, Debden, Northolt (all North London); Rochford (Southend); Martlesham (Harwich) - and of course DUXFORD! (+ also lots of bomber stations in East Anglia and Lincolnshire).

In 10 Group Area (further West) there are: Andover, Middle Wallop (both on Salisbury Plain); Portland, Exeter.

GERMAN

The first German task is to make a choice between 'Sealion Case Orange' and 'Case Purple'. They should also think about the Time of Day at which they would like the first wave to land on the beaches on 10 Sept: During the night? At dawn? In the morning or the afternoon?

The greatest difficulty with 'Sealion' is Logistics. The Germans cannot land heavy equipment with the first wave before a port has

been captured; therefore the front line troops will have to fight with low scales of artillery, motor transport, armour and many other items.

<<The air assault on Britain has been under way for over six weeks, and very great damage has been inflicted on the RAF. We have now been able to lift our fire from the airfields, and the London Blitz started on 7 September, on the Fuhrer's express orders (today is the 8th). However, the Air Staff note that our bombers continue to be met by enemy fighters with depressing regularity - so it cannot yet be said that the RAF has been totally obliterated. Full fighter escorts must continue to accompany all sorties!>>

Note that the Fuhrer's orders to bombard London are irreversible. The *Luftwaffe* may of course continue to attack other targets - but at least 50% of its efforts must continue to be against London until the Grand High Banana tells everyone that they can switch to the invasion beaches &c (= likely to be the moment the first German soldier sets foot ashore).

Commander of *Luftflotte* 2 (Kesselring) will work together with Commander of *Luftflotte* 3 (Sperrle), as a single central command & decision-making team.

A Note on German Combat Aircraft Types

Bombers (Ju 88, He 111, Do 17): fly day or night against large targets (factories, airfields &c)

Dive bombers (Ju 87): fly only by day, vs. point targets (ships,* signal stations, trains &c)

Twin-engined fighters (Me 110): longer range escorts for bombers, and night fighter roles

Single-engined fighters (Me 109): high performance short range escort for bombers

Recce / maritime patrol aircraft (various types / ranges): spot shipping and carry some bombs

The Umpire must persuade the German Air players to set priorities and targets.

For the 'rules' for calculating air losses, see umpire briefing for the RAF (above).

* Air attacks on ships: See special rules for naval umpires - and liaise with the latter.

Commander of airborne forces (Student): <<You are responsible for deciding where the airborne force should be used. Obviously it will depend on whether 'Case Orange' or 'Case Purple' is adopted by the high command; but in either case you should aim to capture a

workable airfield that is close to the beaches where our Army is landing, so that (a) Your *Luftwaffe* troops (Paras and Air Landing) will be able to contribute to the battle for the beaches, eg by disrupting the enemy's rear; (b) You will be able to air-lift supplies and further reinforcements into your airfield to provide an expanding base in the battle. *Luftflotte 2* may even be able to operate fighters and light bombers from British soil! (c) When the Army has advanced from the beaches to link up with you, it can take over airfield defence duties and release your men for further operations. As for timing, personally, in the interests of achieving surprise I would advise that your first drop should be at dawn on the day the Army lands on the beaches - but you may have other ideas.

A Note on Transport Aircraft Types: Transports (Ju 52) can carry 12 troops & tow 1 glider. Allow 2 sorties per day. Gliders (DFS 230) can carry 8 troops (on a 'once only' basis!). Hence 500 x Ju 52 and 150 gliders can carry the entire Para Division on the first day, in two drops, or the Air Landing Div. (which has heavier equipment) during the two days after that, in four drops. Note that the Ju 52 cannot carry all parts of an ordinary Infantry Division, but only its lighter elements - and of course supplies.>>

The Umpire must liaise with other umpires to ascertain the general level of ground defence to be expected on the particular airfield being attacked - especially AA and armour, which are especially deadly to Paras (and remember that the Royal Navy may even be able to bombard the *Fallschirmjaeger* once they have landed on an airfield!) - Then roll dice for the relative success of the first airborne attack: If the target is 'lightly' defended, 5 - 6 means the attack gets bogged down in a prolonged fight, otherwise it succeeds. If target is 'medium' defended, the attack is bogged for 4 - 6. If it's 'heavily' defended, the attack is bogged for 3 - 6. If it's 'SUPER heavily defended, bog for 2 - 6. AIRBORNE!

The Umpire must also oversee and monitor the timing of subsequent waves of airborne forces / supplies into any captured airfield, and compare them to any ground counter-attacks being launched by the British (consult with ground umpires).

The Umpire must deal with the **Italian Corpo Aereo** (Fougier) just like *Luftflotten 2 & 3...*

A Note on Italian Aircraft Types

Both the Bombers (BR 20) and Fighters (CR 42 Biplanes): are aircraft types so pathetic that they don't feature in my reference book! Report vividly that crashed examples will be full of cheese and Chianti (See Peter Haining, *The Chianti Raiders* [Robson Books, London 2005]).

c) Responsibilities of the Naval Umpires:

BRITISH

The Commander of the Dover Patrol has: <<a> A picket line of armed trawlers in mid-Channel. This is your first 'early warning' line to give warning of any attack. The trawlers can sail faster than the enemy's expected invasion barges (which are VERY slow!); but alas not as fast as some of his armed flotilla (eg 'E-Boats').>>

The Umpire must Issue a warning to the RN Dover Patrol player 'as of' the moment when the invasion barges reach mid-Channel (They go at 1 knot, ie from Calais to Dover in 20 hours: thus the trawlers will spot them 10 hours after they set sail at the time set by the German high command)

< A fast flotilla of Royal Navy Motor Torpedo Boats and Motor Gun Boats, based in all the ports around the coast. These will be the first to intervene if the trawlers raise an alert.>>

The Umpire must roll a die five times per game day, one for each of five attacks on the Invasion Fleet (But if 20% of the MTB force is sunk, reduce this to four attacks per day &c). High favours the British, ie a '6' means no loss to the Brits, while 3% of the German barges have sunk or are so badly damaged they have to go home; '1' means no barges are damaged, but 50% of the British attackers are destroyed (ie 10% of the total British MTB and MGB strength). Make up gradations in between the two extremes. If the Brits take a really big hit, announce that 2/Lt Peter Scott RN was 'a sitting duck'.

<<c> A force of Destroyers based in Portsmouth, Dover, Chatham and Harwich. In theory they can sink anything the Germans have got by sea - but they face a major air threat (as in Norway and at Dunkirk). At the start of the operation there are TWELVE Destroyers already allocated to the 'Dover Patrol', and they may be reinforced by TEN extra unallocated Destroyers + TWO Carriers (under Adml. Tovey) from Scapa Flow>>

The Umpire must roll a die once per game day per 5 destroyers committed, for their attacks on the Invasion Fleet. High favours the British, ie a '6' means no loss to the Brits, while 2% of the German barges have sunk or are so badly damaged they have to go home; '1' means no barges are damaged, but two of the British destroyers are sunk. Make up your own gradations in between the two extremes. ALSO note whether the air umpires have allocated a 'particularly strong concentration' of Ju 87 'Stukas' to an anti-shipping role. They can't hit MTBs; but a 'double 6' per game day will sink a destroyer. Note that only dive bombers can sink barges or destroyers. High angle bombers & torpedo bombers can sink only big ships (cruisers, liners &c).

Use the same rules for 'Fleet Air Arm' anti-shipping strikes (See below).

The Home Fleet (Tovey): <<In Scapa Flow you command a gigantic fleet of battleships, aircraft carriers, cruisers and every other type of warship, which you must lead forward (in the 'Jutland' manner - WHICH WILL NEED UMPIRING) if the Germans send out any heavy units of their fleet into the central / northern part of the North Sea.>>

The Umpire must totally fudge any 'new Jutland' in the North Sea. As far as I can see, the only German fleet available consists of Heavy Cruiser '*Hipper*' and Light Cruisers '*Nurnberg*', '*Koln*' and '*Emden*'. That lot can surely be swatted away by Tovey in three hours (why, earlier this year '*Hipper*' was badly damaged by just a destroyer, the '*Glow worm*!'). So roll a die: '6' means the whole lot are sunk without loss to the RN. '1' means the whole lot are sunk with some loss to the RN. But wait a moment! If your first throw was a '1', throw again: a second '1' means that HMS '*Hood*' has inexplicably blown up!

But also note that if the '*Hipper*' group is really clever it can sail surreptitiously around the Norwegian coast and Iceland, to erupt into the North Atlantic in an anti-convoy role.

<<However, apart from the 'Jutland' possibility, it is unnecessary to list your forces here because: (a) A lot of them are detached on vital convoy escort duties at any given time, either in the central Atlantic or in the Mediterranean; (b) Only the lightest types (destroyers and below) can safely operate in the narrow waters of the 'Dover Patrol area' (ie the Channel around Sussex, Kent and Essex) where we can expect the enemy to make his attempt at invasion. Thus your main responsibility during each phase of the operation is to allocate a particular number of Destroyers from the Scapa Flow base to the 'Dover Patrol Area' - but you should also consider the use of heavier units.>>

The Umpire must monitor Brit. destroyer strength in the Channel, and ensure that nothing heavier than a destroyer attempts to intervene in the battle over the invasion barges, on pain of being sunk from the air for a 1, 2 or 3 die roll per game day..

The Commander of Submarines: <<You command ten submarines in the Channel and North Sea. Please give them tasks - bearing in mind that their torpedoes will probably run underneath the sort of E-Boats and invasion barges that we think the enemy will be using. Your subs will be dangerous only to larger ships, including destroyers.>>

The Umpire must allow subs to sink the larger sort of enemy vessels, if they are both simultaneously in the same patch of water. Sub bags a good target for 4, 5 or 6 on die.

RN Director of Mine Warfare: <<You are responsible for deciding exactly where minefields should be laid to obstruct a possible invasion, in the seas around the SE of England. In the immediate short term you can lay 100 miles of a thin belt, or 50 miles of a thicker one. Further mines may be laid after that, in the medium term.

You are also responsible for deciding where to sweep channels where the enemy may be mining our waters to obstruct the movement of our ships. To do this you have flotillas of minesweepers based in Portsmouth, Dover, Chatham and Harwich.>>

The Umpire must note where both sides have laid their minefields and cleared channels, and inflict losses (say 10%) on LARGE forces that sail through (relatively) THICK uncleared minefields (EXCEPT shallow draft vessels eg barges or MTBs). Use discretion for smaller forces in smaller minefields &c.

The Director of Harbours: <<Your role in the game is to receive briefings about the state of ports at any given stage from the Army and Navy - and from the Umpires - and to set the order of priority in which they may be urgently required to be repaired. You may assume that all ports already have preparations in place for demolitions, and if the enemy seems to be about to capture any of them, you can authorise the destruction of that port (and the obstruction of channels with blockships &c).>>

The Naval Umpire must liaise with air and army umpires to see which harbours have been heavily attacked. Keep track on levels of damage and demolitions policy, and remember coastal artillery in each port can shoot at German shipping (liaise with ground umpires).

Director of the Fleet Air Arm: <<You are responsible for targeting enemy shipping using the Fleet Air Arm's Bombers, Dive bombers and Torpedo bombers. There is one squadron of each type stationed in or around Chatham. There are two aircraft carriers (HMS 'Furious' and 'Argus') based in Scapa Flow, which each carry one squadron of Torpedo bombers and one squadron of Fighters. Note that the carriers are part of the Home Fleet (Adml.Tovey) and they must not be risked too close to the narrow waters of the Channel.>>

The Umpire must not let the aircraft carriers enter the southern part of the North Sea (ie South of Yarmouth), on pain of being sunk from the air for a 1, 2 or 3 die roll per game day. Go on - give Goebbels the chance to announce that 'The *Ark Royal* was sunk three times last week!' Apart from that, if an aircraft carrier does come as far south as Yarmouth, its torpedo bombers can join the anti-shipping strikes that the three Chatham-based FAA squadrons will already be flying, as follows:-

Dive bombers can't hit MTBs; but a 'double 6' per game day will sink a destroyer. Note that only dive bombers can sink barges or destroyers. High angle bombers angle torpedo bombers can sink only big ships (cruisers, liners &c). (See existing rules, above)

GERMAN

The first German task is to make a choice between 'Sealion Case Orange' and 'Case Purple'. They should also think about the Time of Day at which you would like the first wave to land on the beaches on 10 Sept. During the night? At dawn? In the morning or the afternoon?

The greatest difficulty with 'Sealion' is Logistics. We cannot land heavy equipment with the first wave before a port has been captured; therefore the front line troops will have to fight with low scales of artillery, motor transport, armour and many other items.

Assuming a port is captured quickly, great care will still be needed to ensure not only that the heavy equipment can be landed as soon as possible, but that a continuous flow of supplies (especially ammunition and fuel) can be maintained thereafter. It will require some thought to organise AND DEFEND regular convoys from our ports on the continent to our port(s) in England.

Commander of U-boats (Doenitz) <<You are responsible for deploying U-Boats to the areas in which they are likely to be of most use to the Invasion. Obviously this will depend on whether 'Case Orange' or 'Case Purple' is adopted as the final plan (and you should express an opinion on which of them will be best for the U-Boat service. Presumably 'Orange' concentrates enemy targets into a narrower sea, whereas 'Purple' would be nearer to U-boat bases in Germany: think of further arguments!).

Now that our Surface Navy has been halved in strength during the Norway campaign, a proportionately greater onus of responsibility has fallen on the U-Boat service to sink enemy shipping. Top priority should be placed on sinking their destroyers. It is admittedly unfortunate that our torpedoes tend to run below shallow-draft vessels such as MTBs.>>

The Umpire must allow a U-Boat to sink the larger type of enemy vessels (incl. destroyers), if they both find themselves

simultaneously in the same patch of water (eg off Scapa Flow, or in the central North Sea). The U-Boat will bag a good target for 4, 5 or 6 on a die, ONCE per 'game week'.

Director of Coastal Artillery: <<Your batteries of heavy guns on Cap Gris Nez represent firepower equivalent to that of a whole heavy battleship in these waters, so you can reassure anyone who is interested that you will be able to blow any enemy ships out of the water, if they arrive anywhere within 40 km of your position. You will also be able to destroy the docks in Dover. Go to it!>>

The Umpire must always allow a 5% degradation of the Dover docks in any given game week, provided the Germans want to bombard them (bearing in mind that they may themselves want to use them to land their own troops!). Against surface ships, roll dice: quadruple sixes mean slight damage to one British ship (In real life during *the entire war* only one hit was scored on a ship from the Cap Gris Nez batteries...)

Commander of Barges + Director of Naval Supply: <<The main difficulty with Barges is their incredibly slow average speed of just one knot.>>

- The Umpire must ensure that the Germans fully understand and observe this pathetically slow barge speed of just one knot. Make sure they give you an exact timing for the moment when the first wave of barges leave port.

<<The second main difficulty with Barges is their utter vulnerability to bad weather.>>

- We will fudge the weather in this game, and remove that factor from the equation.

<<The third main difficulty with Barges is their utter vulnerability to enemy attack (although at least their draft is so shallow that they will float serenely over all mines and torpedoes!).>>

- See other rules, above, for barge losses to various other types of enemy attack.

<<The fourth main difficulty with Barges is their clumsiness not only in manoeuvres, but also in unloading troops onto open beaches (incidentally, there are far fewer of those on the SE English coastline than some people imagine: please try to ensure that your barges do not try to discharge their troops into deep water at the foot of the famous 'White Cliffs').>>

- I think we can fudge this. Suck through your teeth & list difficulties whenever landings are mentioned; but land all the

troops anyway - except in the case of the 'amphibious tanks': '6' on a die means 60% of them land: '1' on a die means none do.

<<Oh yes, and the fifth main difficulty with Barges is that for as long as they are busy invading England, their absence from Germany and other countries will be absolutely crippling to the industrial economies there. Apart from all that, Barges seem to be a pretty damn wonderful transportation system!>>

- Just tell the Germans, at any point that you may choose, that their home economy has just ground to a graunching halt as a direct result of the use of barges in 'Sealion'!

<<The main difficulty with Steamers, Liners and other sea transports is that they cannot easily unload heavy equipment unless they can dock at a workable port. You must agitate as stridently as possible to all Army and Navy authorities that the capture of ports should be the absolutely highest priority in all the operations of the first wave.>>

- Keep abreast of just which ports are workable / in German hands at any given time - and keep all relevant players informed. Depending on their state of repair (See Brit 'Director of Harbours' briefing, above), you can land (at your discretion) the heavy equipment for up to two Infantry Divisions (OR half of a Panzer / Mot Division) at each port in every two game days. *[IE This means that UNLESS the Germans capture lots of ports, they will suffer significant bottlenecks landing most of their second wave.]*

Kriegsmarine Director of Mine Warfare: <<You are responsible for deciding exactly where minefields should be laid to obstruct enemy naval interventions against our invasion, in the seas around the SE of England. You can lay a 30 km long belt of mines (or two of 15 km!) every 24 hours throughout the invasion.

You are also responsible for deciding where to sweep channels where the enemy may be mining our waters to obstruct the movement of our ships. To do this you have flotillas of minesweepers based in Le Havre, Boulogne, Dunkirk, Zeebrugge, Rotterdam and Emden. You should liaise with the other naval authorities at every stage.>>

The Umpire must note where both sides have laid their minefields and cleared channels, and inflict losses (say 10%) on LARGE forces that sail through (relatively) THICK uncleared minefields. Use discretion for smaller forces in smaller minefields &c. Shallow draft vessels (eg barges or MTBs) are unaffected by mines.

d) Responsibilities of the Ground Battle Umpires:

BRITISH

Minister of Economic Warfare (Dalton): <<Umpires are responsible for monitoring subversive activity: (a) In NW France you have parachuted in agents whom you should direct against particular targets (eg Invasion Barges, Dock Facilities &c).>>

The Umpire must roll a die every 'game week'. High favours the Brits, ie '6' means a successful small piece of sabotage (eg a ship or half a dozen barges sunk) for no loss to the saboteurs; '0' means half the total available sabotage forces are arrested by the Gestapo. Liase with all players and umpires concerned.

<<(b) In Kent you have been inserting 'hides' for 'stay behind parties' to emerge in the enemy's rear after he has invaded. Please liase with the commander of local LDV for what they should try to target.>>

The Umpire must activate the stay-behind parties once the Germans have advanced, say 5 miles inland (This will be towards the very end of play). Proceed as for saboteurs in France - although the targets will be German troops / guns / tanks, rather than shipping.

GOC Southern Command: <<You are the tactical commander, under the CiC Home Forces, of all forces in the SE of England, including artillery, tanks, fortifications and para-military forces (Local Defence Volunteers and others). As such, you must liase closely with all those authorities, as well as your superiors - and with the umpires who will keep you informed of the tactical development of any battle...>>

In effect the main centre of British tactical decision-making for the ground battle will be a huddle of CiC Home Forces, GOC Southern Command, Director of Armoured Fighting Vehicles and Director of Field Artillery. This 'huddle' must be the main centre of the ground umpires' attention.

The players will order troop movements and the umpires will note them: allow an average of 5 mph for large formations, if such detail ever becomes relevant, except that movements from Scotland or the Midlands into the London area can go 15 mph by rail.

When Germans land on English soil, they will necessarily be no more than light infantry in the first wave apart from the 'amphibious tanks', very few of which will land in a state to fight - although admittedly British AT defence is not strong. The ground umpires must compare their strength (bearing in mind their naval gunfire support [which will be relatively weak] and their support from bombers) with the strength of (a) The Brit. coastal defences, pill boxes &c backed by relatively light infantry and coast artillery;

(b) Reinforcements being brought in from the rear (some armour would be nice), and (c) Any interventions from RAF and RN. Alas we do not have the time or resources to play this through in detail, so YOU MUST COME TO A VIEW (or 'fudge') on whether the Germans would be able to make progress, or not, or whether they'd be thrown back into the sea!

Note that German progress inland will be slowed down by their lack of motor transport in the first wave, and by the heavy 'bocage' country they are likely to encounter.

Note also the probable arrival of *Fallschirmjaeger* on some airfield near an invasion beach. The defences against them will be less than on the beaches, and they will enjoy a major element of surprise. But it is the responsibility of the air umpires to determine the success or otherwise of the initial landing, so liaise with them: but if the Germans manage to break out from the airfield perimeter they will join in the general 'ground battle'.

On casualties, you should always make some airy generalisations to the two sides; but hide behind the idea that 'it's too soon to count them accurately'.

Director of Fortifications: Umpire must note the priorities that the Director of Fortifications wants to set, as between one area (beaches or inland? Kent or Essex?) and another.

<<Note (i) That you can lay out ONE two-mile frontage of petrol dischargers, to set the sea alight, on a beach of your choice. Which will it be?>>

In the unlikely event of the Germans attempting a landing on that one selected beach, their initial assault troops will be burned to a crisp and the landing will fail with heavy loss. BUT if they persist on the same beach, the British will have run out of petrol!

<<(ii) The RAF is responsible for the defence of their airfields against Parachute / Glider attack; but you are responsible for placing obstacles (eg good Kentish hop poles) on all other suitable open fields or beaches.>>

The Umpire must liaise with the RAF umpire (a) for the defensive status of airfields and (b) for attempts to land aircraft anywhere else.

OC Royal Garrison Artillery: <<You have two immediate responsibilities: (i) To use all your guns up to 9" (which are mainly located for the defence of ports, from Harwich all the way round to Portsmouth) to destroy moving enemy shipping wherever & whenever it may appear;>>

The Umpire must liaise with naval umpires to resolve this.

<<(ii) To use your battery of 15" railway guns in Dover to bombard the Calais area - not only to destroy the enemy's heavy batteries on Cap Gris Nez, but also to reach the barge harbours and other shipping in the Calais area. Note that these guns are not equipped to engage moving shipping targets.>>

Umpire must make comforting noises to the player, but cause no serious damage!

OC Field (and even Horse) Artillery: <<You control one large central reserve (200 guns) plus one smaller reserve (76 guns) for each Army Corps. The greater the extent to which you can concentrate these resources against a single target, obviously the greater the damage you will be able to inflict on the enemy.>>

The Umpire must monitor the movements of the field artillery, and factor it into the general battle. A 200-gun barrage is potentially decisive, even against a *Panzer* Division. Liaise with other umpires, and make the RA a force to be reckoned with!

Director of Armoured Fighting Vehicles: <<You control the armoured Divisions and armoured Brigades, which include heavy ('Infantry') tanks; medium ('Cruiser') tanks, and light (Machine Gun) tanks. You do not control the light tanks that are integral to Infantry Divisions.>>

The Umpire must pay particular attention to the way the armoured Divisions and Brigades are handled, within the general context of the ground battle. Reward concentration of effort: penalise dispersion and 'penny packeting'. Note that 'I' tanks (Matildas) are an almost unstoppable (but slow) weapon against light infantry. Cruisers are 50-50, and light tanks are pathetic - vulnerable almost to hand grenades... Count German tanks as either 'cruisers' or 'light'. They are not really threatening on their own - but only if they are surrounded by the full all-arms panoply of a *Panzer* formation.

Brigadier Commanding Local Defence Volunteers in Kent (reports to the Minister of Economic Warfare): <<You have succeeded in building up a very fine body of men, who will certainly do their duty with devotion and skill - as coast watchers, air watchers and ultimately infantry to defend their home localities (including with the cunning use of booby traps and pill boxes, as demonstrated in eg Walmington on Sea). Please design a set of priorities for all the Kent LDV.>>

The Umpire must note any priority areas that the brigadier may set, and give the Germans a (moderately) hard time if they go there. But ultimately we don't really expect much from our LDV heroes - "They're all doomed". Note that the 'stay behind parties' run by the 'Minister of Economic Warfare' are not an LDV responsibility, although the two authorities should certainly speak to each other!

GERMAN

It is important that you understand the difference between OKH and OKW. OKH has detailed control over the Army's operations, which in this case mostly means Runstedt's Army Group A. But the problem is that OKW is essentially a political authority that has its own peculiar ideas about how the war should be fought - ie on political rather than military principles. At Dunkirk, earlier this year, we already saw how such doctrinaire attitudes could waste the achievements of our brave spearheads on the ground.

The first German task is to make a choice between 'Sealion Case Orange' and 'Case Purple'. They should also think about the Time of Day at which you would like the first wave to land on the beaches on 10 Sept: During the night? At dawn? In the morning or the afternoon?

The greatest difficulty with 'Sealion' is Logistics. We cannot land heavy equipment with the first wave before a port has been captured; therefore the front line troops will have to fight with low scales of artillery, motor transport, armour and many other items.

GOC 16th Army (Busch); **GOC 9th Army** (Strauss), and **GOC 6th Army** (Reichenau): <<You are responsible for deploying troops on the ground and directing the battle, under the orders of Army Group A (Runstedt). 16th Army is the senior partner among the three assault armies (ie alongside 9th and 6th Armies, in that order), so you should all liaise closely with the commanders of the other Armies and, in fact, make up a single command staff.

The problems facing assault troops in 'Sealion' are:

- a) Landing on a hostile beach. Intensive training, in collaboration with the Navy and Air Force, has already been conducted. The key is to identify and neutralise enemy pill boxes. Note that the first wave will necessarily be light in artillery, due to the difficulties of transport.
- b) Rapid consolidation of the beach against counter-attack + landing 2nd echelon supplies
- c) Further advance out of the beach area **AS FAST AS POSSIBLE**, concentrating on a few well-chosen targets in depth with maximum force and speed. The problem here is that we will have little

transport available beyond bicycles and whatever we can requisition from the local population. Apart from some 'amphibious tanks' our armoured / mechanised forces will arrive only in the second wave. But the unloading of these forces will not be possible unless we first capture at least one port.>>

The Umpire must monitor the plans and movements of all these forces, and especially the progress of attacks on ports (with a view to the unloading of the second wave). **Consult the guidelines (above) for how to resolve the battles of GOC Southern Command.**

Director of Panzer Forces (Guderian): <<You are responsible for the correct use of all the tanks, armoured and motorised forces commanded by 6th, 9th and 16th Armies.

In the first wave there will be four battalions of amphibious tanks that should be used in close support of the assault infantry. In the second wave 4 x Panzer and 2 x Motorised Divisions (and 2 x SS Mot Regiments) will be available - but they will not be able to land unless a port is available. These forces must be set on the road as fast as possible to make maximum impact - preferably with a deep penetration on a narrow front, in such a way that they can surround and isolate a major segment of the enemy army in a 'Kessel' - as we did so well in May.>>

The Umpire can dismiss the 'amphibious tanks' as pretty much a sacrificial offering: but he must pay special attention to the speed with which the 2nd wave can be landed in a port or ports. Without a port they cannot land. With a port(s) they can indeed land, and may be devastating. Liaise with the other relevant umpires to check the state of the ports! It may well be that the game will have finished before many of the 2nd wave divisions can become operational on English soil: but in general the umpire should be inspired by the following thoughts:-

a) A good, well concentrated, all-arms *Panzer* thrust will be very hard to stop.

b) It CAN be stopped by strong British armoured formations fighting in defence

c) It can also be stopped by a really impressive concentration of British field artillery

d) It can be slowed down but NOT stopped by British infantry (and LDV) formations

e) The '*Panzer* tanks' themselves are not really impressive: it's the 'all arms force' (mechanised and in full radio inter-com) that is really the decisive weapon

f) Reward concentration of effort: penalise dispersion and 'penny packeting'

g) Remember that German progress inland will be slowed down by the heavy 'bocage' country they are likely to encounter.

Director of Military Intelligence = To report on enemy locations and plans (Ground battle only). <<Your task is to liaise with the German Armies, to collect whatever reports on the enemy they may have, but especially with the Umpires, to get Intelligence Briefings>>

The Umpire must 'Do Your Best', as they say in the Scouts...

—
In the event the Duxford game saw a British success, since the German decision to attack Essex over-extended the barge fleet, and exposed it to much more of the Royal Navy than would have been the case in the Channel. Then, after only about half of their first wave had managed to get ashore, the British were able to gather sufficient troops in eastern London to blunt the offensive.

Chapter Three - 'Operation Mercury' 1941

Not long after I had first run the 'Sealion' game in 1974, I was asked to run a game about the Battle for Crete (1941) for a group of about 30 military history students at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. The idea was to test their powers of concentration in a 'command post' environment over a 36-hour period. The good news was that this enabled me to research and run another complicated large scale wargame, and I was even given access to a full set of One Inch to the Mile maps of Crete of 1941 vintage (*alas now long lost*). But the bad news was that although the players could run their command posts on a 'shift' system, so that everyone got at least a little sleep, the same facility was not extended to the umpires. There was thus a weird mismatch between perky players and weary umpires, such as I had never seen before - and fortunately have never seen since!

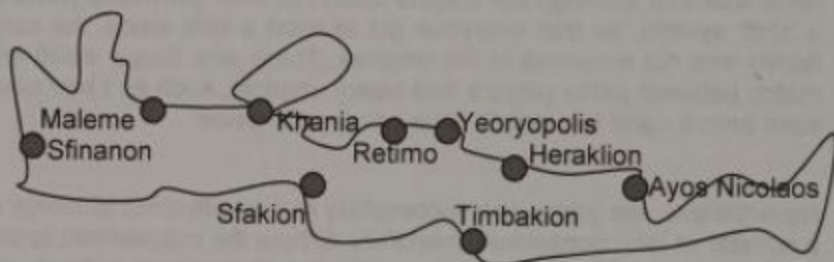
Nevertheless, the game was successfully re-run with other students on a number of later occasions - mercifully without the requirement to stay awake all night. Then I took it on into the recreational sphere, and played it through in a number of other environments, including the prestigious Chestnut Lodge Wargame Club in South London. As a crowning glory, I was eventually commissioned to run it in a classy hotel in the Cotswolds, where a firm of cattle feed manufacturers wanted a 'bonding exercise' for their top executives. (35) And now, finally, in 2009 I have played it through once again at Duxford for the IWM. Altogether I guess I have run about twenty 'battles of Crete'; so I reckon I have achieved a pretty fair overview of the historical odds. In real life it was undoubtedly the Germans who won the battle; but it was always very much 'a close run thing', and the Germans suffered crippling casualties. My 'researches' (36) suggest that the Germans could have hoped to win in only two cases out of three. In other words the Allies could still have expected to hold onto Crete in one case out of three, which I suspect is a figure that may even have some historical validity.

Crete makes a fascinating battle for a wargame, since it was highly technological and 'modern', while being far more evenly balanced than the totally one-sided technological (and air-based) warfare that we have seen in more recent decades. It is true that the Germans had all the air power - but as a counterbalance the Allies ruled the waves, and their infantry was practically invulnerable as long as it continued to lurk in its well-camouflaged slit trenches. The main problems for the Germans were (i) Descending from the skies under heavy fire from hidden defences (whose existence they had not usually detected in

advance), and (ii) Landing any sort of heavy weapons (eg Tanks or Artillery) from the sea, in the face of the rampant Royal Navy. On the other hand the main problems for the Allies were (i) Their complete inability to move anywhere (by either land or sea) in daylight, under the total German superiority in the air, and (ii) Their general lack of sufficient modern weapons, such as tanks or artillery, with which to fight the *Fallschirmjaeger* on the ground.

Figure 2 Crete

(not to scale!)



Disappointingly, the 2009 Duxford game had only 34 participants who showed up, although I had planned for more than 60. It also had a different scale of focus than the earlier 'Sealion' game, in that it involved only about two Infantry Divisions on each side, and a timescale of little more than 48 hours. It was therefore more a 'tactical' than an 'operational' game, although it still involved all three services (Land, Sea and Air) in a very central way.

Here are some of the **Briefings used in the Duxford Game:-**

GENERAL SCENARIO (*Dusk is 2100 hrs and dawn is 0500 hrs*)

The British army moved into Greece from Egypt in March 1941 as allies of the Greeks ('Operation Lustre'); but it was then promptly kicked out again when the Germans launched 'Operation Marita' in April, to support the failing Italian attack on the Balkans.

The British evacuation of Greece was completed on 1st May. It included the transfer of King George II of Greece, and a significant allied force, to the island of Crete (which was still sovereign Greek territory). The Allies believed that Suda Bay (and the port of Khania) constituted a vital anchorage and naval base facility for the Allied cause - and the British government had agreed with the Greek king that the island should be strongly defended.

It is now 17th May, and it is thought that a major German assault ('Operation Mercury' to the Germans, or 'Scorcher' to the British) may be launched to capture Crete at any moment. However, neither side seems to know very much about the details of the enemy forces that might be committed to the battle. It will be interesting to see just how much they can find out about each other if (or when) the German attack materialises!

General Rules for Flying

Aircraft can fly no more than twice a day (except a Fieseler Storch can hop about as often as it likes! - and incidentally it can find somewhere to land almost anywhere. Also fighters defending their home airfield can fly four times a day)

Normally aircraft will NOT fly at night (*ie between Dusk and Dawn*), because it's far more dangerous than in daylight - especially in view of the large number of aircraft that we are likely to be using (EG If *Luftflotte IV* has 1,250 planes, that implies 2,500 take-offs and 2,500 landings per day = 5,000 'air movements', or about four per minute).

Nevertheless, the umpires may allow a few special exceptions to the general rule against night flying, if you ask them nicely. EG Wellington bombers can operate ONLY at night.

Aeroplanes (except perhaps the Fieseler Storch) need airfields to take off from and land on. The Germans have twelve airfields in the area of Athens, which is about 200 miles away from Crete. For game purposes aircraft fly at an average speed of 200 mph (although fighters can 'surge' to much higher speeds when they are in combat). Therefore it will take one hour to fly from the Athens area to Crete - but because of the huge number of aircraft likely to be involved, we must add an hour of 'marshalling time' (as the individual planes take off and assemble in groups so that they can all arrive in one mass over the target) = 2 hours each way (and add an hour for planes that land & unload in Crete).

From Alexandria to Crete = about 400 miles: From Alexandria to Athens = about 600 miles.

Aircraft ranges are expressed (very approximately) in nautical miles or 'knots', which includes both outward & inward journeys - as well as spare, 'marshalling' or loitering time.

The aircraft types & total ranges for the game are:-

Allied: Hurricane Fighters: range 470 (*ie one way only between Alexandria and Crete*)

Fulmar (carrier-borne) Fighters: range 800 (*ie they cannot operate directly from Alexandria to Crete, but only from carriers somewhere half way to Crete*)

- Albacore (carrier-borne) Torpedo Bombers: range 800 (*Ditto*)
- Sunderland Recce flying boats: range 3,000 (*Can range over the whole area*)
- Wellington Bombers: range 1,300 (*Ditto*)
- Axis: Storch Liaison aircraft: range 230 (*a special case - see above*)
- Me 109 Fighters: range 450 (*Can operate no further from Athens than Crete*)
- Ju 87 Dive Bombers: range 600 (*Ditto*)
- Me 110 Twin engined Fighters: range 1,300 (*Can range over the whole area*)
- Cant Z506 Maritime Patrol seaplane: range 1,400 (*Ditto*)
- Ju 52 Transport plane: Range 800. (*Note that one Ju 52 can tug one glider*)
- Do 17 Bombers / Recce / Liaison: range 1,800 (*ie can fly Athens-Alexandria & back*)
- He 111 Bombers: range 1,700 (*Ditto*)
- Ju 88 Bombers / Glide Bombers: range 1,500 (*Ditto*)

Short Key to Distances on Crete (From West to East: Distances in Miles, Approx)

Sfinanion to Maleme = 30

Maleme to Khania = 10

Khania to Sfakion (South Coast) = 30

Khania to Retimo = 20 (Yeoryeopolis is half way between the two = 10 miles each way)

Retimo to Timbakion (South Coast) = 40

Retimo to Heraklion = 30

Heraklion to Ayos Nicolaos = 30

ALLIED SCENARIO

The allies have a very ill-mixed and poorly equipped garrison on Crete (sometimes to an hilarious degree, not least in their artillery which is sometimes held together with chewing gum!): but they are well dug in and camouflaged, and they enjoy all the benefits of defence - in particular there is a very strong RN force against naval attack, although our cruisers and battleships cannot operate close to a strong enemy air force, as we discovered in Norway 1940; and even destroyers are

vulnerable in daylight hours (= 0500 - 2100 hrs). This makes the north coast of Crete very hard to access without air cover. The RAF is attempting to establish fighters on Crete; but the enemy is believed to have over 1,500 aircraft in Greece (*Luftflotte IV*), so the two sides are very unevenly matched in the air.

But the key thing on Crete is the anchorage, naval base & fortress of Suda Bay / Khania, which is a place worth defending for its own sake (on 3 November 1940 Churchill said 'Crete must be made into a second Scapa Flow'). However, if Khania and Crete as a whole are to be defended, then it is also essential that three other key points are held. These are the airfields of Heraklion, Maleme and (a smaller field) Retimo (Heraklion also has a port with heavy cranes). These must be defended so that (a) The RAF will be able to use them, and (b) The enemy won't. But note that if it becomes clear that demolitions will be unavoidable on any of these sites, it will take as much as three days' notice to ensure that they will be completely effective - and even then, of course, the enemy will be able to make full repairs in the longer term.

Allied forces on Crete are essentially static - ie they can fight efficiently on the ground that they occupy and have prepared: but transport within and out of the island poses some significant problems. It is very rough and hilly terrain (which at least makes it impossible for the enemy to land aircraft outside the 3 airfields). The roads are bad: we have far less motor transport than we need, and in any case all movements in daylight are vulnerable to air attack. If we cannot use Suda Bay as a port, we will be forced to use the extremely small fishing harbours on the south coast, especially Sfinanion, Sfakion, Timbakion and Ayos Nicolaos. These are highly unsatisfactory and will need major development work before they can handle major volumes of traffic.

Allied Playing Team Structure (With 30 players. If there are fewer than 30, some roles may be merged or not used.)

a) In Egypt and at Sea (*in full radio contact with forces on Crete and with each other*)

- CinC Middle East (Wavell) = Army operations / Link with Foreign Office
- Chief of Staff (CoS) Middle East (Smith) = army reinforcements & Intelligence

Royal Navy Mediterranean Fleet (Cunningham)

includes 1st Battle Sqn; 7th Cruiser Sqn; 15th Cruiser Sqn (all = Pridham-Whipple, 2ic Med.)

- Fleet Air Arm (Boyd) = carrier 'Formidable' and land based FAA aircraft
- Destroyers (Glennie + 2ic Mountbatten)
- Commander Naval Transport = Port operating crews; Light flotilla; Transport ships &c

RAF (Longmore + CoS Tedder) = Wellingtons, Hurricanes and airfield maintenance crews

b) Garrison of Crete

'Creforce' HQ (Freyberg + CoS Stuart) = Overall command and Corps Troops

- Commander of Armoured Forces
- Commander of Artillery (Field and Coastal)
- Commander of Artillery (AA)
- Commander of Engineers, Fortifications & Demolitions
- RAF Liaison Officer (Beamish)
- RN Port Controller at Khania / Suda Bay

1st 'Mobile Naval Base Defence Organisation' (MNBDO) (Weston and CoS Wills) = 3 brigades:

- MNBDO Brigade Commander (Hely)
- 14 Brigade Commander (Chappel)
- 19 Australian Brigade Commander (Vasey)

2nd New Zealand Division (Puttick; CoS Gentry) = 3 brigades:

- 5 NZ Brigade Commander (Hargest)
- 10 NZ Brigade Commander (Kippenberger)
- 4 NZ Brigade Commander (Inglis)

Greek HQ (Scoulas) = advises the King, and commands all Greek troops (regular and otherwise)

Mayor of Khania = represents the Cretan civilian population (incl. all Fishermen)

Allied Order of Battle (*Note: aircraft ranges are expressed in nautical miles or 'knots', which includes outward and inward journeys - as well as all spare or loitering time.*)

Royal Navy:

Battleships 'Queen Elizabeth', 'Warspite' and 'Valiant' (24 kts; 15" guns)

Carrier 'Formidable' (30 kts): 12 Fulmar fighters and 10 Albacore torpedo bombers (range 800)

and Land based FAA: 5 x Sunderland maritime patrol (range 3,000) and 24 res. carrier aircraft.

Cruisers x 6 (32 kts; 6" guns); AA Cruisers x 2 (33 kts; 4" guns); Minelayer 'Abdiel' (40 kts; 4.7" guns, 160 mines)

Destroyers: 5 Flotillas each of 5 ships (36 kts; 4.7" guns)

Submarines x 5, including minelaying 'Rorqual' (15 / 9 kts; 50 mines)

Light Flotilla: 5 x MTB (40 kts); 5 x MGB (12 kts); 5 x Minesweepers (12 kts)

Transports: 6 x Merchantmen (can carry troops or vehicles: 12 kts); 1 x Oiler (12 kts);

Infantry Landing Ships 'Glenroy' and 'Glengyle' (18 kts; 4" guns; carry 1,100 troops each)

Port Operating Crews x 2 (*ie to put harbours - even small ones - into working order*)

RAF:

Wellington Bombers: 2 groups of 20 (range 1,300)

Hurricane Fighters: 2 groups of 15 (range 470)

Airfield maintenance / operating crews x 3 (ie to put fields into working order)

Army: (asterisked units are classed as 'weak', in either numbers or equipment):

Coastal Artillery in fixed emplacements:

2 x 4" guns at Maleme; 6 at Suda Bay; 2 at Yeoryopolis; 2 at Heraklion

'Creforce' Corps Troops (To be deployed by players):-

- Armoured Forces: 7th RTR: Matilda 'I' tanks x 8 and 3rd Hussars: Mk VI Light tanks x 16
- Artillery: AA Batteries x 6; Field Btys* (assorted!) x 6
- Engineers: 2 x Field Coys; Dock and Stevedore bn (unarmed)

1st MNBDO Div: incl. Motor Transport for 2,500 men

MNBDO Brigade: 1 / Rangers, 102 (RA)*, 106 (RHA)*, 2 / 2* & 2 / 3* Australian Field Regts, 16 Australian Composite*, 17th Australian Composite*, Royal Perivolian Rifles*, 2 Greek Cadet*, Northumberland Hussars* Battalions; Minesweepers x 2 and Motor Patrol Boats x 5. Also POW Camp in Khandia (with 15,000 Italian POWs).

14 Brigade: 2 / Black Watch; 2 / York & Lancaster; 2 / Leicester*, 2 / 4 Australian; 7 Med Regt*, 3 Greek Air Cadet*, 7 Greek*, Greek Garrison* Bns

19 Australian Brigade: 2 / 1, 2 / 11, 2 / 7, 2 / 8* Australian, 4 Greek*, 5 Greek*, Cretan Police

2nd New Zealand Division: Motor Transport for 700 men

5 NZ Brigade: 21 NZ*, 22 NZ*, 23 NZ, 28 Maori, NZ Engineer* Bns

10 NZ Brigade: 20 NZ, NZ Composite, 1 Greek, 6 Greek*, 8 Greek*, 'Div Cav' (on foot)* Bns

4 NZ Brigade: 18 NZ, 19 NZ*, 1 / Welch Bns

Auxiliary Greek Forces:

6,000 Supernumeraries, Home Guards, Coast Watchers, Police &c (deployed all over the island; all under command of General Scoulas)

Reinforcements due to arrive

1 / Argyll & Sutherland* Bn, already at Tymbakion

1 / Queens + 'Layforce' (Commando) Bns in Alexandria and (?) later troops from 16th Bde (2 / Queens; 2 / Kings; 2 / Leics)

AXIS SCENARIO

The Fuhrer has ordered *Luftflotte* IV to capture Crete before the end of May. That is your mission.

The Allied garrison of Crete has already been defeated in Greece, and it now consists of a very ill-mixed and poorly equipped 'League of Nations' force (British, Greeks, Australians, Maori savages, and I know not what else...). This amounts to approximately one Division in strength. It is without armour, air support or even very much artillery or motor transport. It therefore makes an ideal target for a major airborne attack to be spearheaded by *Fliegerkorps* XI. Your first task will be to decide exactly where and when each part of that Corps will land. In essence you have a choice between making relatively small attacks on numerous targets on the first day, or trying to concentrate a large force against a single target. You must then plan your follow-up operations for subsequent days.

There are four major targets on Crete: (i) The port of Khania (for the large natural anchorage of Suda Bay); (ii) The airfield of Maleme; (iii) The airfield of Heraklion (Heraklion also has a port with heavy cranes), and (iv) The smaller airfield of Retimo. Obviously if you want to land your tanks and (medium to heavy) artillery you will have to have Khania (The fishing harbours along the south coast are too small & unequipped for this purpose). And if you want to land troops in aircraft (ie as opposed to paratroop or glider landings) you will have to have an airfield. Note that the terrain of Crete is very rough and hilly outside the airfields - and the roads are far too rough to attempt landing aircraft on them! But also please note that, unfortunately, our intelligence services have so far been unable to identify exactly what enemy troops are defending which exact locations. They do at least know that there are emplaced 4" coast defence guns at Maleme, Suda Bay (Khania), Yeoryopolis and Heraklion.

You have over a dozen airfields in Greece, divided between your two *Fliegerkorps* (overall, they are operating as many as 1,250 aircraft, although that implies that only about 1,000 are likely to be operational at any given moment). Each airfield has some AA and infantry defence.

Note that flying can take place only in daylight; but in any given day the ability of airfields to handle traffic will successively degrade (ie they can launch everything as planned at dawn; but recovery will be scrappy, and the ability to make a second launch in the afternoon will be scrappier still. But after dusk everything can be reorganised, so it will be ready for launching in a planned manner at dawn on the next day).

You have 500 operational Ju 52 Transport Planes and 70 DFS 230 Gliders. Each of them can carry two tons, or what we will call 'One Landing Unit' (or 'LU') - ie you can carry 570 LUs in the morning of the first day, and 500 (less combat losses to the Ju 52s) in every lift thereafter. You need to decide just which troops go into which LUs in each lift. As a rule of thumb each Para battalion needs about 62 x LU, and each Air landing battalion (from 5th Mountain Div) needs 75 x LU. But remember that all HQs, artillery or special MG detachments &c &c all need many additional LUs... it can get complicated! You can at least be assured that your men are highly élite troops in quality (especially the Paras); but they are also very LIGHT troops, with only the very lightest of artillery &c. The Paras are particularly well armed with machine guns, whereas 5th Mountain Div has fewer MGs but slightly more artillery & mortars.

Note that your brave Italian allies have NOT been told about Operation Mercury in advance, so they will not be able to mobilise their forces to help it for at least 24 hours after it starts.

Axis Playing Team Structure and Order of Battle (With 30 players. If there are fewer than 30, some roles may be merged or not used.)

a) Permanently in Greece (*in full radio contact with forces on Crete & with each other*):

Luftflotte IV: CinC (Lohr) = Overall operational command and general strategy (HQ in Athens)

Chief of Intelligence = to keep track of enemy forces

QM = to keep track of airfield maintenance and logistics

Naval Forces (Schuster and CoS Schmidt and Italian Naval Liaison Officer)

- Escorts & Light flotilla (5 x Italian Escorts; 12 x Italian MTBs; 2 x Italian Minesweepers; 3 x Italian Submarines)
- *Caique* flotilla (ie 70 x requisitioned small shipping [Greek: Speed 8 kts] to carry the heavy equipment of 5th Mountain Div - see below for details)
- German Port operating crews x 2 (includes 1 x oil tanker) and 1 / San Marco Italian Marine battalion.
- The main Italian battle fleet (incl. 5 x battleships [*Duilio, Cesare, Doria, Littorio, Vittorio Veneto*] &c &c) is in Taranto (Adml Iachino).

Fliegerkorps VIII HQ (OC Richtofen) - Each 'Group' has 50 planes, of which 67% operational

- Fighter groups (Woldenga) (Me 109 x 3: range 350 and Me 110 x 2: range 1,300) and Recce / liason group (Do17: range 1,800 and Storch: range 230 and Cant Z506: range 1,400)
- Bomber groups (Reikhoff) (Ju87 x 3: range 600 and Ju88 x 2: range 1,500 and He 111 x 1: range 1,700 and Do17 x 3) + Airfield operating crews x 2

b) Airborne / Air Landing forces available to land in Crete:

Fliegerkorps XI (Student and CoS Schlemm and Chief of Ops) = Overall command

and Civil Administrator = to organise captured areas and population and run police (1 x LU = **Para**)

This HQ (incl. its admin and medical detachments) needs 16 x LU (= **Air Landing, not Para**).

Corps Troops (Meindl)

- 41 Motorcycle Detachment (50 x LU = **Air Landing**)
- AA MG Battalion (40 x LU = **Air Landing**)
- Assault Regiment: HQ (5 x LU = **Air Landing**)
- Artillery Detachment of 3 x 75 mm guns (10 x LU = **Glider landing**)
- Glider Assault Battalion (Gericke) (60 x LU = **Glider landing**)
- Para assault bns (Koch) 1, 2, 3 (3 x 60 LU = total 180 x LU: **Paratroop landing**)

***Fliegerdivision VII* (Sussmann and CoS) = All Paratroops**

- HQ & transport staff (10 x LU)
 - Artillery Detachment of 10 x 75 mm Recoilless Rifles (30 x LU)
 - AT Detachment of 25 x 37 mm guns (25 x LU)
 - Pioneer Bn (Liebach) with MGs, Flamethrowers, Explosives &c (50 x LU)
 - MG Bn and Recce Platoon (also commanded by Liebach)(40 x LU)
 - Para Regiment I (Brauer) = Bns 1, 2, 3 (3 x 60 LUs = total 180 x LU and 5 for HQ staff)
 - Para Regiment II (Sturm) = Bns 1, 2, 3 (3 x 60 LUs = total 180 x LU and 5 for staff)
 - Para Regiment III (Heidrich) = Bns 1, 2, 3 (3 x 60 LUs = total 180 x LU and 5 for staff)
- + Divisional Elements to be **Air Landed**: Each of the 9 battalions has 3 x 75 mm or 105 mm guns in 3 parts = total 27 guns, in addition to the para-dropped guns (Total 81 x LU)

***Fliegerdivision XI* (Conrad and CoS) = Air Transport, incl. Glider Group of 70 gliders and Ju 52 Groups x 5, totalling 500 planes: Range 800. (One Ju 52 tugs one glider)**

- + Reserve ammunition loads ready to fly, **Air Landing only** (50 x LU)

5th Mountain Division (Ringel and CoS) = Air Landing troops (10 x LU for this HQ):-

- 95 Mountain Artillery Regt (Wittmann) (5 x LU for this HQ)
- 12 x 75 mm long guns (40 x LU)
- Mountain Pioneer Assault Bn (50 x LU)
- Anti Tank Detachment: 24 x 37 mm guns (25 x LU)
- Recce Detachment (30 x LU)
- Motor Cycle Bn (50 x LU)
- 85 Regt (Krakau) = HQ (15 x LU) + Bns 1, 2, 3 (3 x 60 LUs = total 180 x LU)
- 100 Regt (Utz) = HQ (15 x LU) + Bns 1, 2, 3 (3 x 60 LUs = total 180 x LU)
- 141 Regt (Jais) = HQ (15 x LU) + Bns 1, 2, 3 (3 x 60 LUs = total 180 x LU)

+ Div Support Regiment = Tank Bn (25 x Pz Mk II; 35 x Pz Mk III; 10 x Pz Mk IV) + Artillery Bns 1 & 2 (105 and 155 mm guns) + limitless numbers of pack mules = all to be **carried in Caiques under Naval command** (See above).

The Umpires: We should have the following umpires:-

- **General Co-ordinator**
- **Political umpire**
- **Umpire Record Keeper** = To sit in the umpire room and, er, keep records.
- **Athens air umpire** = fighters, bombers & recce [ie FKVIII] (also responsible for monitoring the RAF, FAA & Regia Aeronautica! - incl. airfield status).
- **His assistant**
- **Air Transport umpire** = responsible for monitoring the operations of Ju 52s & gliders [ie FK XI], including the dropping of paratroops (up to the point when they land!).
- **Infantry Umpire West** = responsible for monitoring all ground battles in the Maleme & Khania area (ie after the people coming from the sky have landed!).
- **Infantry Umpire East** = responsible for monitoring the ground battles in Retimo & Heraklion
- **Naval Umpire** = responsible for monitoring both British & German ship movements (incidentally the Italian navy says it 'lacks oil' - but in reality it's terrified of a new battle of Matapan - so it will not move out of Taranto under any circumstances: but don't tell Fritz!).
- **Egypt Umpire** (optional) = to monitor everything the Brits are doing in Egypt: troop movements, RAF & RN = must liase with other umpires who deal with similar questions.

A few general guidelines for Umpires:-

First of all, let us all recognise that the battle of Crete is a much smaller and more 'tactical' battle than the sprawling 'Sealion' could ever possibly have been. We are talking about little more than two Divisions on each side. Nor will there be much of an air battle, since the Germans control the skies (at least in daytime) - nor even much of a sea battle, since the British rule the waves (at least at night). Add to this the additional simplifying factor that with any luck the central

decision of who wins or loses will have emerged within about three game days. Hence in some respects umpiring this battle ought to be much simpler than 'Sealion'.

However, precisely because it is smaller, it means that we have to go into greater detail at a lower tactical level, and therefore we have to be more careful about small things. Unlike in 'Sealion', we must have a central **Umpire Record Keeper** (whether or not he is equipped with a computer) who will sit in the umpire room as a sort of 'librarian' to log, or keep track of, current information. This umpire must be fed exact details by the other umpires, who should carry notebooks to record whatever decisions they have made & told players, in the playing rooms. In this way he can keep a precise log / record (at least of strengths & losses) of what is happening in each phase of the game.

A) How we will umpire the 'Three Phases' of the game?

- 1) (1145 - 1300) Encourage the players to 'get to know each other', and develop final plans. This must include the Germans setting an 'M Day'. We start the game 'as of' 17 May - but 'M Day' can be set any time between 20 and 25 May (In the real thing it was 20 May).

Umpires must assess whatever happens between 17 May and M Day - ie presumably the Luftwaffe will bomb Crete to soften up their targets, while the RAF will bomb airfields in Greece - & may be able to install some Hurricanes on Crete? Or will the RE demolish airfields? The RN may patrol (& mine) the waters between Crete & Greece (& maybe bombard targets in Greece?) and carry as many reinforcements as possible from Egypt to Crete. Remember to tell players the results of all this at the start of M Day (ie after Lunch).

- 2) (1345 - 1500): The 'first day of the battle' (ie M Day) is played out in a series of dialogues between umpires and players. We should try to do this phase as carefully as we can, and divide it into two 'drops' = The morning (?dawn?) drop, which (I expect) will include a glider battalion; and then (by about 1400 in both real time and game time!) the afternoon drop - which should be less accurate & less well organised, since the turn-round of aircraft in Greece will have had to be improvised in pretty chaotic conditions (including dust storms on the airfields - and also we must take account of losses in the morning, eg to AA fire).

Note that the Germans will be able to use up to 1,070 'Landing Units' on M Day (although combat losses in the morning may well mean they will have less). That means they can probably land something like - (a) All their glider troops; (b) All 3 Para assault bns (Koch); (c) All the Para-droppable parts of Fliegerdivision VII (ie 9 bns + HQs + Recoiless Rifles + 37 mm AT guns + Pioneer Bn Liebach + MG Bn and Recce Platoon) and (d) Whatever additional

supplies they may be able to drop by parachute in up to 110 x extra LUs.

In other words they can drop **everything** they have available to drop by parachute, during the course of M Day. The key questions then (ie by the end of M Day) will be whether they can go on to capture (a) an AIRFIELD upon which they can land all their (many) Air Landing troops, and (b) a PORT (Khania, or Heraklion at a pinch) in which they can unload all their really heavy equipment (tanks, artillery & mules!) that cannot go by air.

- 3) (1515 - 1620): The second and subsequent days of battle are played out at a much higher level of generalisation = thick thumbs on small maps &c, leading to the inevitable 'fudges' that will be needed to reach a conclusion by the time of the Debrief (at 1620 realtime).

The main crunch points are likely to be:-

- (a) Can the Paras who dropped on M Day manage to capture a workable airfield? If so, they will probably win game, set & match, depending on whatever demolitions the Brits have managed, and what weight of fire the Brits can then bring to bear against aircraft attempting to land there.
- (b) Can the Germans capture the port of Khania in working order? (incl. will the Brits be able to demolish the docks first?);
- (c) In any case - will the RN succeed in sinking the German seaborne fleet(s), before it gets to Khania? (I am assuming they will - but we must wait & see).
- (d) IF the Germans do capture an airfield (and / or manage to operate tanks out of Khania), then will the Brits want to evacuate Crete? If they do, how will they do it? Due to the limits on destroyer movements in daylight, it will have to be at night through small harbours on the south coast - which are relatively inaccessible by road. Which ones will they use? and how will we try to assess it all? (bearing in mind that Evelyn Waugh was appalled at the actual chaos that he saw in this defeated army in retreat...).

B) How will we umpire the 'Three Services' in the game?

AIR POWER: *(In general assume all aircraft go at 200 knots)*

- **The RAF** has pretty much no hope of making a serious impact on events. As one matelot said to another during the original battle: "Make

sure to blow up your Mae West - it's the only air support you'll be getting today!"

However, there will be nothing to stop Wellington bombers raiding the German airfields in Greece every night (I'd say roll a die per bomber group: the effect will be negligible for 0-4: destroy a few aircraft for 5, and get a jackpot inferno for 6!). But I don't think the Wellingtons can hope to hit anything else that's important, in either Greece or Crete.

Nor should we stop the RAF attempting to get Hurricanes operating from any of the airfields on Crete: they must first deploy their Airfield maintenance / operating crews as they wish, and then fly in the Hurricanes - but they are likely to be blitzed at every stage of the process. If the Hurricanes DO get into air to air combat, they should shoot down two German planes (ie fighter, transport plane or bomber: mix as appropriate!) for every one that they lose themselves.

- **The Fleet Air Arm** may be able to get carrier-based Fulmars or Albacores over the battle area. The Fulmars will serve as Hurricanes, and the Albacores will be able to torpedo an Escort or larger ship in one case out of 40.

Caiques are vulnerable to machine gun fire but not torpedoes... In daylight they will be identified by Sunderland recce planes for anything but a 1.

- **The Luftwaffe** basically controls the skies, limited only by the number of its planes, and the fact that each plane can fly only twice per day. But of course it suffers from teutonic arrogance, and umpires should encourage this. As a general rule you should tell it that it has hit twice as much / caused twice as much damage as it actually has.

The Luftwaffe has several means of action open to it:-

- Anti-shipping strikes: You can forget high-angle bombers; but Stukas can hit a destroyer in one case out of 100 - ie 10 Stukas have a 10% chance or 100 Stukas have 100% (I guess this makes a case for using D10s...). Note that a 'hit' is not the same as a sinking - but it will always be very serious. Against bigger ships Stukas will hit in one case out of 40.

- Strikes against troops that are dug in: The Brits will suffer 4 casualties per battalion if they are bombarded for two weeks! (= actual statistics from the Black Watch) - ie ignore it in military terms, although doubtless it's stressful & noisy. Also of great importance, note that the Germans cannot SEE British positions from the air, so all their Recce efforts will be fruitless. I have started by telling them the Brits have only one Division (which is a gross understatement): please don't tell them otherwise: and don't tell them WHERE the Brits are dug in.

- Against troops moving by road or cross country in daylight: The Luftwaffe will automatically see the Brits and strafe them (all types of aircraft can do it!). The Brits will be forced to go to ground & wait for darkness. A proportion of any motor transport will be destroyed (but not AFVs).

- High Angle Bombers can do considerable damage to towns (ie hitting civilians but not military personnel), dockyards (1% damage for every three planes bombing) and airfields (1% damage for every 5 planes bombing; but including one aircraft destroyed for every 30 planes).

SEA POWER

- **The Royal Navy** should not operate in Cretan waters with anything heavier than a destroyer. In any given night these vessels can safely make the journey to the South coast of Crete, unload or take on troops / supplies, and then get out of range of the Luftwaffe by dawn. But they will be horribly exposed if they attempt to sail to the northern side of the island, or if for any reason they have to hang around within range. A destroyer can carry a max of 400 troops (in extreme discomfort).

Potentially the most important role of the RN destroyers is to sink the German Caique fleet(s), as they attempt to carry tanks & artillery from Greece to Crete. Basically these ships should be spotted & located in daylight by Sunderland recce (or RN light flotilla? or coast watchers?), then intercepted by a destroyer flotilla at night. If the British players can manage to get a destroyer flotilla loose among any given group of Caiques, they will sink all of it for 3-6 on a die, or half of it for 1-2 (or proportionally less if there are less than 5 destroyers present.) Of course if the Caiques are intercepted in daylight by even one destroyer, they will all be totally doomed!

- **Axis Naval Forces** do not really have a lot to do, although they should be encouraged to be optimistic. The 5th Mountain Div will certainly want to encourage them to land its tanks & artillery in Khania:

but remember the Caique fleet(s) move very SLOWLY. Umpires should also keep reminding the Kriegsmarine that the only certain way to defeat the Royal Navy is to persuade the main Italian battle fleet to go to sea for a grand battle in the waters south of Crete. But - Tee Hee! - umpires know that the Italians are scared stiff of any such outcome. If their fleet leaves Taranto at all, it will be to go to Naples or Livorno, which are less exposed to attack by the Fleet Air Arm (compare events of 11-11-40!).

LAND POWER:

- British Static Defences & the Paratroop / Glider Threat: The main British defence against Paratroops consists of (a) a planned AA defence (3.7", 3" and 40 mm) that can bring down Ju 52s and gliders, and (b) automatic weapons, of all calibres up to the 20 mm Oerlikon, which can be brought to bear while the Paras are actually in the air, er, parachuting (or gliding). Obviously in both cases the key question is - will the Paras want to fly & jump over the exact places where the Brits have located their defences? We must point this out to both teams; and especially we must explain that the German team has a (classic!) choice between jumping directly onto the target - which is likely to be heavily defended - or jumping into undefended sites some miles away from the target, and then yomping overland to the target during many hours or, perhaps more probably, more than a day.

If the Germans do choose to jump directly onto a heavily defended site, they should be really hammered (as they were in real life). Let's say they suffer a percentage of casualties shown on 1 x D6, multiplied by 10. But if they jump into an undefended site, their losses will be 1 x D6 multiplied by merely 2%.

In both cases there is also a problem of dispersion and loss of command & control, within each particular Para battalion. The history of combat parachuting, not least on Crete, is littered with this phenomenon - ie even though 100% of the battalion may get onto the ground (and not find themselves strung up on the church tower of St Mere Eglise!), it may still not be able to function AS a battalion for many hours after it has landed. Therefore roll a D6 for each battalion that jumps: 5-6 = a perfectly accurate jump that allows the entire battalion to be fully combat-effective within an hour (and if it lands directly on a defended target, a few spearhead platoons may be up and fighting within as little as 5 minutes). 3-4 = a bad jump that's all over the place, and the battalion cannot form up for 6 hours (although a few platoons may start fighting, locally, within 10 minutes). 1-2 = Disaster! The battalion never manages to get together at all, although individual platoons and companies can still get involved with their

nearest enemy positions after 30 minutes or (more likely) much longer...

Oh yes - and in this game the weather for jumping will always be perfectly fine - ie no high winds as in Sicily 1943.

But TANKS are an especially potent weapon against Paras, especially if they can counter-attack into a Para unit before its men have disentangled themselves from their harness and set themselves up as a functioning infantry unit. But even if a tank counter-attack comes later than that, it can still hope to rip big holes in the Paras, who are essentially LIGHT infantry. They do not have good AT defences unless the tanks happen to fall locally upon the few specialised AT units that the Germans will be landing. However, please note that on Crete the British 'Bren Carriers' were pretty much dead meat against the Paras. Their armour could resist small arms fire - but a single grenade lobbed into a Carrier could knock it out totally (Carrier had no roof, see?).

It is especially important to note that a properly prepared British defensive position that is camouflaged & well dug in should be almost impervious to attack by no matter how many German paratroops coming overland (let alone descending from the skies). Roll a D6 = the Germans will be repulsed for anything but a 6. But if the British position is less than fully prepared (eg occupied only very recently, or occupied by a 'weak' [ie asterisked] battalion), and if the Germans have overwhelming strength (especially in artillery), then a graduated scale of 6 - 3 on the D6 will allow a German victory! Overall, however, the balance of probability should lie with the defence. Do please make sensible umpiring decisions, weighing all the factors, in every case.

Also note that although the British Artillery is (to say the least) 'hilarious', it is still considerably stronger than any artillery that the Germans can possibly land by air. We must take this factor into account in any battle, especially if the Brits are defending positions that they have occupied for some time (ie they will have registered their locations with the RA).

Of course if both sides are above ground in the open - especially the Brits - the German Paras will always win if they roll a 1-5 on a D6 (= an élite force: These guys have ten times more machine guns per man than the 'Royal Paravollian Rifles' have pianos per battalion!). Then again, remember that the Brits of all arms are essentially immobile. With a few exceptions (See the British OB for

exact figures) they have very little motor transport - ie most of their movements will have to be on foot.

Movement on foot will average 1 mph. Movement in motor transport = 10 mph.

C) How will we umpire Higher Political Things?

General Wavell, CiC ME, will take his orders from the Imperial General Staff, the Foreign Office and the War Cabinet (PM Churchill) in Whitehall (All played by the Political umpire = Phil Sawford). Wavell must naturally modify his orders as he sees fit, in view of local circumstances in both Egypt and Crete. The main 'Foreign Office' consideration in the present circumstances appears to be our relations with the Greek government and King. We should offer every assistance to His Majesty (who starts off in Khania) - at least until such time as we decide to steal his Gold... We should also be aware of the wider diplomatic effect that a successful defence of Crete would have for Turkey and several other Balkan countries.

Wavell's CoS (Smith) also receives 'Ultra secret' intelligence from a sad and somewhat unbelievable civilian boffin-style cove, with egg on his tie, who lives in - of all places - Bletchley! Alas how low has the Empire fallen if we must now give credibility to such people?

Colonel General Lohr, commanding Luftflotte IV, will take his orders from the Commander of the Air Force (Marshal Hermann Goering), and from the Fuhrer, who are both in Berlin (& both played by the Political umpire). At present the orders are clear = 'capture Crete'! However it is possible that some restraints may be imposed if losses threaten to become too heavy: (a) The aircraft of Luftflotte IV will be required for (unspecified but 'important') operations 'somewhere in Europe' within a few short weeks after 'Mercury' ends. (b) The infantry of Fliegerkorps XI are committed Nazis and the absolute élite among all our heroic Aryan warriors. It would be a very cruel loss to the Reich if they were to suffer serious casualties = "I would rather HAVE a Kamerad than 'have had' him!"

Lohr must also be aware of two other important 'political' considerations. The first is the firm Axis alliance with our dearest friend Benito Mussolini. We need his main battle fleet (based in Taranto) to remove the English Navy from the battle for Crete. Lohr must therefore do all he can to secure their help. To do this he can go through (a) The Italian Ambassador to Greece (played by the political umpire) and / or (b) The Italian Naval Liaison Officer (played by a player).

Secondly, Lohr must recognise the aspirations of the new Greek government in Athens (also played by the political umpire). They

gratifyingly sympathise with the whole German project for Europe (including the small matter of those 'unspecified but important' operations 'somewhere in Europe' within a few short weeks after 'Mercury' ends); and in particular they are hungry to see Crete reunited with mainland Greece. They particularly want to get hold of the former (discredited) King George II and - maybe even more urgently - his gold (both were last spotted in Khania). But they are also anxious to stress to you that atrocities against Greek civilians and the Orthodox Church will not be acceptable. Not only will they undermine the authority of the new Greek government itself, but they will also undermine the authority of the German Reich and its agents, and will be guaranteed to provoke the rise of armed insurgency & terrorism!

Personal Briefings for the Players

Personal Briefing for **Gen Wavell = CinC Middle East**: Overview of general strategy & Army operations, as well as liaison with the War Office, Foreign Office & War Cabinet in Whitehall.

The defence of Crete is only one of your heavy responsibilities, alongside the defence of Egypt, Tobruk, Palestine and Iraq (&c): but in the present game Crete is the only one that need occupy you!

You are the main intermediary between Whitehall and General Freyberg, commanding on Crete. You take your orders from the Imperial General Staff, the Foreign Office and the War Cabinet (PM Churchill) in Whitehall (All played by the Political umpire = Phil Sawford), although you must naturally modify your orders as you see fit, in view of local circumstances in both Egypt and Crete.

It is your responsibility to supervise Freyberg's use of his troops, and if possible to reinforce him. You should also liaise closely with the RAF and RN authorities (especially transport ships) to ensure that he has all the support he needs.

There remains a question over 16th Inf Brigade, which is coming forward in Egypt. Ask the umpires about whether it would be better used in Crete or Syria (& consult with your CoS [Smith]).

The main 'Foreign Office' consideration in the present circumstances appears to be our relations with the Greek government their King George II. We should offer every assistance to His Majesty (currently in Khania) - and of course we must look after his Gold... We should also be aware of the wider diplomatic effect that a successful defence of Crete would have for Turkey and several other Balkan countries.

Your CoS (Smith) also receives 'Ultra secret' intelligence from a sad and somewhat unbelievable civilian boffin-style cove, with egg on his tie, who lives in - of all places - Bletchley! Alas how low has the Empire fallen if we must now give credibility to such people?

Personal Briefing for **General Smith = Chief of Staff Middle East**: army reinforcements & movements, also supervising Intelligence (especially the ultra-secret stuff from UK).

Yes it's true that you receive this 'Ultra secret' intelligence from UK; but it's from a sad and somewhat unbelievable civilian boffin-style cove, with egg on his tie, who lives in - of all places - Bletchley! Alas how low has the Empire fallen if we must now give credibility to such people? Anyway, you should pass it all on, for what it's worth... in strictest confidence!

You must also try to collect all other available intelligence available from 'Creforce', the RAF, the RN (especially the Commander of Naval Transports*) and anyone else you can tap. Your main task is to keep track of this battle as best you can, for the benefit of both Wavell and Freyberg.

More importantly, though, you must try to keep track of the army units that are coming from and going to Crete, ie: (a) *Reinforcements due to arrive* are 1 / Argyll & Sutherland* Bn, already at Tymbakion (on the South coast of Crete). This needs to be handed over to Freyberg's command. (b) 1 / Queens Bn, and 'Layforce' (Commandos) are in Alexandria and ready to go - Where and when should they go? (c) Later, you may perhaps release troops from 16th Inf Brigade (3 full strength battalions: 2 / Queens; 2 / Kings; 2 / Leics), which is currently in barracks near Alexandria, but cannot be released until General Wavell agrees that they will not be needed elsewhere (eg Syria).

* Transport ships available are: 6 x Merchantmen (can carry troops or vehicles: 12 kts); 1 x Oiler (12 kts) + Infantry Landing Ships 'Glenroy' & 'Glengyle' (18 kts; 4" guns; carry 1,100 troops each) - but also destroyers can carry up to 400 troops each. Note also the importance of Port Operating Crews x 2 (ie to put harbours - even small ones - into working order).

Personal Briefing for **Vice Adml Pridham-Whipple = 2ic Med. Fleet** = 1st Battle Sqn (Battleships 'Queen Elizabeth', 'Warspite' & 'Valiant' [24 kts; 15" guns]); 7th Cruiser Sqn; 15th Cruiser Sqn (Cruisers x 6 [32 kts; 6" guns]; AA Cruisers x 2 [33 kts; 4" guns]); Carrier 'Formidable' (30 kts). You will also be responsible for minelaying, using the fast Minelayer 'Abdiel' (40 kts; 4.7" guns, 160 mines) and the submarine 'Rorqual' (15 / 9 kts; 50 mines). Also you must deploy the other 4 conventional submarines.

After your (& of course Adml Cunningham's) great victory in the battle of Cape Matapan (28 March), it would seem that the Italian battle fleet (adml Iachino) is somewhat cowed, and inclined to stay in port - although one can never be entirely sure. It is still technically superior to your fleet, at least in *materiel*, if not in *morale*. But if it comes out and offers battle in the waters south of Greece, you will nevertheless be able to engage it with your own powerful squadrons of battleships and cruisers, supported by the carrier 'Formidable' of Rear Adml Boyd, & Rear Admiral Glennie's destroyers. I am sure that you will be victorious once again.

However, the problem is that if Adml Cunningham has to send your forces into this battle against the Italians, he will not be able to use them simultaneously in support of Freyberg's army in Crete. Admittedly in any case your battleships and cruisers could not operate effectively within close range of the *Luftwaffe* based in Greece - but the

carrier could be very useful in the air battle for Crete, and the destroyers will most likely be the only means for bringing troops & supplies in and out of Crete (consult with Adml Cunningham for guidance).

Personal Briefing for Commodore Commanding Naval Transport =
Port operating crews x 2; Light Flotilla: 5 x MTB (40 kts); 5 x MGB (12 kts); 5 x Minesweepers (12 kts). You also command the troop transports = 6 x Merchantmen (can carry troops or vehicles: 12 kts); 1 x Oiler (12 kts); Infantry Landing Ships 'Glenroy' & 'Glengyle' (18 kts; 4" guns; carry 1,100 troops each).

Your main role is to transport troops / supplies to and from Crete. You should liaise with the Army authorities (in both Egypt and Crete) to discover their requirements, and talk to Admiral Glennie to arrange destroyer escorts. Note that under the current enemy predominance in airpower it will be too dangerous to make the long journey to the north coast of Crete (ie the port of Kania), so you should use the small fishing harbours on the south coast (especially Sfiranon, Sfakion, Timbakion & Ayos Nicolaos). These should be developed & improved by your 2 x Port Operating Crews.

Use your Minesweepers to open channels ahead of your movements. Use your Gunboats to escort them and the troop transports, and use your (much faster) MTBs in collaboration with Glennie's destroyers to attack any invasion force that the Germans may send by sea from Athens to Crete.

Personal Briefing for Rear Adml Boyd = Fleet Air Arm

Your role is to run the Naval Air Arm = the Carrier 'Formidable', which carries 12 x Fulmar fighters + 10 x Albacore torpedo bombers (with 24 x reserve carrier aircraft [12 of each type] waiting in Alexandria); and the 5 x Sunderland maritime patrol / recce flying boats based in Alexandria.

It seems unlikely that Cunningham's Mediterranean battle fleet (apart from destroyers) will leave port unless the Italian battle fleet (in Taranto, under admiral Iachino) does so first (The Italians appear to be cowed by their losses at Taranto last year and Matapan last March). Of course the movements of 'Formidable' will have to conform to the wishes of Cunningham and Pridham-Whipple, who will want her aircraft to scout, locate and then damage the Italian battleships before our own capital ships can close and sink what's left. But with your special expertise of aviation, you should explain how 'Formidable' might be made the centre of a special task group to help in the battle for Crete. Perhaps she could sail half way to Crete and launch Fulmars to challenge the Germans in the skies over Crete (especially over Glennie's force of destroyers - talk to him)? Or maybe launch

Albacores to attack enemy shipping in the area between Athens and Crete? If you lose aircraft from the carrier, remember that you can replace them from the reserves in Alexandria.

Your Sunderland long range maritime recce planes are a valuable asset: please allocate them to general search areas during each phase of the battle.

Personal Briefing for Admiral Cunningham = Royal Navy Mediterranean Fleet

The defence of Crete is only one of your heavy responsibilities, alongside the resupply of Tobruk & Malta, the security of Alexandria and the Suez Canal, and the destruction of the main Italian battle fleet (which is based mainly in Taranto, under admiral Iachino). But in the present game Crete and the Italian battle fleet are the only ones that need occupy you!

After your great victory in the battle of Cape Matapan (28 March), it would seem that the Italian battle fleet is somewhat cowed, and inclined to stay in port - although one can never be entirely sure. It is still technically superior to your fleet, at least in *materiel*, if not in *morale*. But if it comes out and offers battle in the waters south of Greece, you will nevertheless be able to engage it with the powerful squadrons of battleships and cruisers led by Vice Admiral Pridham-Whipple (who is also responsible for minelaying and submarine operations), as well as by the carrier 'Formidable' of Rear Admiral Boyd & the destroyers of Rear Admiral Glennie. I am sure that you will be victorious once again.

The problem, of course, is that if you have to send your forces into this battle against the Italians, you will not be able to use them simultaneously in support of Freyberg's army in Crete. Admittedly in any case your battleships and cruisers could not operate effectively within range of the *Luftwaffe* based in Greece - but the carrier could be very useful in the air battle for Crete, and Glennie's destroyers will most likely be the only means for bringing troops & supplies in and out of Crete (consult with Wavell's staff for their requirements).

Of course, if your main battle does turn out to be in support of Crete rather than against the Italians, you will naturally be prepared to sacrifice everything possible (ie aircraft & destroyers - but not capital ships) to help the Army.

Personal Briefing for Brigadier Commanding AA Artillery (= 'Creforce' Corps Troops)

AA Batteries x 6 (all calibres, from 0.5" to 3.7")

Your main task is to decide exactly where the (scarce!) AA guns on Crete should be deployed. This will be crucial in determining the weight

of AA fire that will be available to defeat each particular point against airborne attack - and bear in mind that massed AA fire is the very best means of defeating Para or Glider attack.

Remember that AA guns are themselves vulnerable to attack by bombers and by infantry attacking overland. They will need to be defended by (a) Camouflage; (b) Supporting Troops (ie locate the AA guns in the midst of friendly troops); (c) All patterns of AA gun are capable of firing against ground targets (and the 3.7" is also good as coastal artillery against ships).

Personal Briefing for Rear Adml Glennie = ic Destroyers: 5 Flotillas each of 5 ships (36 kts; 4.7" guns). Admiral Vian is your 2 ic.

In the battle of Crete your destroyers will have a crucial role to play, since the preponderance of enemy air power in the area means that larger & slower ships will be at excessive risk. Even so, our experiences in Norway, 1940, show that even destroyers are vulnerable to air attack in daylight - so you should attempt to perform your operations around Crete at night. This means that you will not have time to get to the north coast (especially the port of Khania); so to land or pick up troops / supplies you will have to develop the small fishing harbours on the south coast (especially Sfinakion, Sfakion, Timbaktion & Ayos Nicolaos). Use the Commander of Naval Transport's 2 x Port Operating Crews to improve their facilities; also be sure to liaise with the Army authorities (in both Egypt and Crete) to discover their requirements, as well as the Commander of Naval Transport.

You are also responsible for sinking any force that the enemy may send to invade Crete by sea. This means that your ships will have to venture into the waters between Crete and Athens, which will stretch their operations into the hours of daylight.

Talk to Admirals Cunningham, Pridham-Whipple & Boyd over general policy, and (a) Whether or not your destroyers will be needed for a grand fleet action against the Italians based in Taranto (under adml Iachino); (b) Their deployment of mines & submarines; (c) Their use of the carrier 'Formidable'.

Personal Briefing for Air Chief Marshal Longmore = Commanding RAF: Wellington Bombers: 2 groups of 20 (range 1,300); Hurricane Fighters: 2 groups of 15 (range 470); Airfield maintenance / operating crews x 3 (ie to put fields into working order)

Your role is to command - and keep track of - the RAF's fighters and bombers in the forthcoming battle of Crete. Your Chief of Staff, Tedder, will help you in this.

The obvious (& gigantic) problem in this is that whereas you have about 70 aircraft (and the Fleet Air Arm has even fewer), the Luftwaffe has about 1,250. The best you can hope for is that you will be able to hinder & hamper the enemy as a 'guerrilla' force, rather than being able to stop his operations outright. In particular:-

a) Your bombers (flying at night) will be able to strike airfields and port facilities in the area of Athens; or to strike at any positions the enemy may capture on Crete itself. You will have to select the best target(s) each night.

b) Your fighters may perhaps be able to establish themselves on one of more of the airfields on Crete (You will have to choose which). To do this you should first send in an Airfield maintenance / operating crew, to get the airfield working. Then you can fly in the Hurricanes and operate them against any enemy aircraft that come over. **Note that in this specific case** an exception will be made to the rule that aircraft can fly only twice a day. Because they will be operating so close to their bases, and not loitering long to find a target, these Hurricanes will be able to fly four times a day.

Personal Briefing for **Captain Lord Louis Mountbatten = 2ic Destroyers**: 5 Flotillas each of 5 ships (36 kts; 4.7" guns). Your role is to help Admiral Glennie (ic Destroyers) in his task, which is as follows: "In the battle of Crete your destroyers will have a crucial role to play, since the preponderance of enemy air power in the area means that larger & slower ships will be at excessive risk. Even so, our experiences in Norway, 1940, show that even destroyers are vulnerable to air attack in daylight - so you should attempt to perform your operations around Crete at night. This means that you will not have time to get to the north coast (especially the port of Khania); so to land or pick up troops / supplies you will have to develop the small fishing harbours on the south coast (especially Sfinakion, Sfakion, Timbakion & Ayos Nicolaos). Also be sure to liaise with the Army authorities (in both Egypt and Crete) to discover their requirements, and talk to the Commander of Naval Transport.

You are also responsible for sinking any force that the enemy may send to invade Crete by sea. This means that your ships will have to venture into the waters between Crete and Athens, which will stretch their operations into the hours of daylight.

Talk to Admirals Cunningham, Pridham-Whipple & Boyd over general policy, and (a) Whether or not your destroyers will be needed for a grand fleet action against the Italians based in Taranto (commanded by admiral Iachino); (b) Their deployment of mines & submarines; (c) Their use of the carrier 'Formidable'."

Personal Briefing for **Air Vice Marshal Tedder = Chief of Staff to RAF:** Wellington Bombers: 2 groups of 20 (range 1,300); Hurricane Fighters: 2 groups of 15 (range 470); Airfield maintenance / operating crews x 3 (*ie to put fields into working order*)

Your role is to help Longmore command - and keep track of - the RAF's fighters and bombers in the forthcoming battle of Crete.

The obvious (& gigantic) problem in this is that whereas you have about 70 aircraft (and the Fleet Air Arm has even fewer), the Luftwaffe has about 1,250. The best you can hope for is that you will be able to hinder & hamper the enemy as a 'guerrilla' force, rather than being able to stop his operations outright. In particular:-

a) Your bombers (flying at night) will be able to strike airfields and port facilities in the area of Athens; or to strike at any positions the enemy may capture on Crete itself. You will have to select the best target(s) each night.

b) Your fighters may perhaps be able to establish themselves on one of more of the airfields on Crete (You choose which). To do this you should first liaise with Beamish (RAF Representative on Crete), then send in an Airfield maintenance / operating crew, to get the airfield working. Then you can fly in the Hurricanes and operate them against any enemy aircraft that come over. **Note that in this specific case** an exception will be made to the rule that aircraft can fly only twice a day. Because they will be operating so close to their bases, and not loitering long to find a target, these Hurricanes will be able to fly four times a day.

Personal Briefing for **General Bernard Freyberg VC = Commanding 'Creforce'**

The defence of Crete is essentially a New Zealand affair, and you stand at its head!

At each stage in the game it is your responsibility to listen to the people around you and then lead the defenders of Crete in taking the top decisions, both on your own initiative and when prompted by the umpires (But your decisions should always, of course, be based on the proper advice from the proper authorities).

You must try to make sure that each of your 'Sub-teams' (eg RA, RE, Armour, Infantry &c) is working properly, liaising with you and giving you the advice that you need. Your Chief of Staff (CoS) can help you in this task. Especially consult with Wavell (= CiC Middle East, who may even have some extra-secret intelligence for you), and with the RAF, Royal Navy and Greek authorities.

Your first task will be to decide exactly where to deploy your six fighting brigades, and where to locate your scarce resources of

artillery, armour and transport (&c), in view of the imminent expectation of a massive airborne assault.

Personal Briefing for **Colonel Stuart = Chief of Staff 'Creforce'**

Your task is to help Freyberg, who commands 'Creforce', to discharge his duties efficiently. In particular he has to make sure that each of the army 'Sub-teams' (eg RA, RE, Armour, Infantry &c) is working properly, liaising with him and giving him the advice he needs. He must also consult with Wavell (= CiC Middle East, who may even have some extra-secret intelligence), and with the RAF, Royal Navy and Greek authorities.

Your first task will be to decide exactly where to deploy the six fighting brigades, and where to locate the scarce resources of artillery, armour, and ESPECIALLY transport.

Personal Briefing for **Brigadier Commanding Armoured Forces** ('Creforce' Corps Troops)

7th RTR: Matilda 'I' tanks x 8. + 3rd Hussars: Mk VI Light tanks x 16

Your first task is to decide exactly where the (scarce!) armoured forces on Crete should be deployed (but you are not responsible for the deployment of the 'Bren Gun Carriers' attached to some infantry battalions). All your tanks (wherever they may be located) have already been very well camouflaged from aerial observation.

Note that the Matilda tank is a real war winner, completely impervious to any AT guns that will be available to German airborne forces, unless they can land heavier guns by sea. In the recent Cyrenaica campaign the Italians had no answer to the mighty Matilda! It can just go trundling forward against any opposition, and shoot them to bits (with 2 pdr + MGs). But alas we have only 8 of them in Crete - use them well!

The Vickers Mk VI Light Tank, alas, is far more vulnerable to the sort of weapons that the enemy is likely to land, and it's armed with only MGs. However, the 3rd Hussars are a famously dashing lot, full of 'the cavalry spirit'. If they are deployed somewhere near wherever these beastly paratroopers are likely to land, they have a jolly sporting chance of rushing in and shooting them up before the Hun can disentangle himself from his parachute harness.

In later phases of the battle, of course, all our tanks will be invaluable bastions to our defensive fight. I am sure you will lead them with flair and fearlessness! Tallyho!!

Personal Briefing for **Brigadier Commanding Field and Coastal Artillery** (= 'Creforce' Corps Troops): 4" guns: x 2 at Maleme; x 6 at Suda Bay; x 2 at Yeoryopolis; x 2 at Heraklion: and Field Batteries* (assorted and very badly equipped!) x 6

Your first task is to decide exactly where the (scarce & technically dubious!) field artillery forces on Crete should be deployed, apart of course from the coastal batteries, which are fully equipped and permanently emplaced. The coastal batteries are well trained to engage any enemy naval forces that may appear before them - but they are also, of course, likely to be pre-designated targets for the enemy air force.

Each of your six field batteries consists of an average of 6 guns, mainly old fashioned 75 mm, but also a few 3.7" howitzers. They are all (fortunately) motorised; but you will have to decide whether to attach them to separate infantry brigades (and if so, which?) or whether to make a central mass (and if so, where?). Remember it will be difficult to move in daylight, under air attack.

Personal Briefing for **Brigadier Commanding Engineers, Fortifications and Demolitions** (= 'Creforce' Corps Troops)

You have already deployed as many defensive stores as possible (barbed wire, sandbags, corrugated iron for dug-outs &c &c) to all the positions that our troops are intending to defend. But unfortunately you have now run out of such stores, so there is nothing left in reserve (unless you can arrange to have more shipped in from Alexandria). Nevertheless you are reasonably confident that all our troops are well dug in, camouflaged and ready to hold their positions. Problems will arise, however, if troops have to move. You will not be able to help them very much if they do.

However, you still have the very responsible job of determining exactly where you want to prepare demolitions and, still more importantly, when you will want to fire them. Note that there are three main types of installation on Crete that are worth defending:-

(a) **The Airfields** (Maleme, Retimo and Heraklion). In each of these it is relatively easy to blow up the airfield buildings, fuel stocks, supply dumps &c; but it is far more difficult to destroy the runways. To do that you will need a lot of people doing a lot of digging over a number of days (either with or without the use of explosives) - and even then, if enemy infantry capture a 'destroyed' runway, they will probably be able to repair it relatively quickly. It is quite possible that the RAF will not want to use all three of the Crete airfields - and in any case the *Luftwaffe* may perhaps demolish them before you can get there! You should liaise closely with the RAF authorities, as well as 'Creforce' HQ, to establish priorities.

- (b) **Major Ports** (There's only one = Khania). Once again it is relatively easy to blow up the dockyard buildings, cranes, fuel stocks, supply dumps &c; but it is far more difficult to destroy the quays, or to block access to the harbour (primarily by sinking blockships and maybe pouring concrete to make extra obstacles). Blocking access will require a major operation over a number of days. It is quite possible that the Navy will not be able to use Khania at all, due to the weight of air attack; but on the other hand the use of the harbour by the RN has been cited as the main reason for defending Crete at all! You should liaise closely with 'Creforce' HQ, the RN authorities, and the Khania Port Controller, before you do anything hasty!
- (c) **Small Harbours** (mostly on the south coast of Crete: especially Sfinanon, Sfakion, Timbakion & Ayos Nicolaos). Frankly, none of them have much that's worth demolishing! The Navy may well bring in some teams to build them up to a higher standard (and they may need your help in that), in which case you may then have something to blow up - but you'd better ask 'Creforce' HQ, and the RN authorities, about their requirements.

Personal Briefing for Group Captain Beamish = RAF Liaison Officer on Crete

You are responsible for organising air operations from the three airfields on Crete (Maleme, Retimo and Heraklion). This includes both RAF aircraft and any Fleet Air Arm aircraft that may wish to land on Crete or operate from there.

In order to operate the airfields on Crete, the RAF must bring in at least one of its three Airfield maintenance / operating crews that are optimised to put fields into working order. Then it must fly in planes, and you will control their operations. It is unlikely that bombers will be deployed to Crete, since they can already reach their targets from Alexandria: but fighters will be very valuable for providing air cover. **Note that in this specific case** an exception will be made to the rule that aircraft can fly only twice a day. Because they will be operating so close to their bases, and not loitering long to find a target, these Hurricanes (or indeed Fulmars) will be able to fly four times a day.

Please liaise closely with all relevant RAF, FAA and Army authorities.

Personal Briefing for RN Port Controller (Captain's rank) at Khania / Suda Bay

You are responsible for organising the smooth working of the Khania docks, and you should liaise with everyone involved with that - not just the RN and Army (especially the MNBDO and the Commander of Engineers); but also the Greek population. If the higher authorities

want to close down and demolish your docks, you must protest! This is one of the best anchorages in the entire Mediterranean, and indeed the main *raison d'être* for defending Crete at all!

Khania is already defended by the specialised "MNBDO" Brigade and 6 x coastal defence guns, as well as whatever extra infantry, AA and Field guns (&c &c) the Army authorities may choose to commit to it. Naturally, you should urge them to commit as much as possible! (But you should also contemplate what you will do in the 'worst case scenario', if the higher military authorities blow your entire port sky high, to stop the Germans getting it).

Personal Briefing for General Weston = commander 1st 'Mobile Naval Base Defence Organisation' (MNBDO) Div = MNBDO, 14 & 19 Austr. Brigades + whatever supporting arms are allocated by 'Creforce' HQ.

Your Division is called the 'MNBDO' Division for purely historical reasons that need not detain you. In fact the MNBDO is just one of your three brigades. It was created for, and is dedicated specifically to, the defence of the port of Khania, and to assisting the operation of that port (in co-ordination with such folks as the RN Port Controller at Khania / Suda Bay, and the commander of AA artillery). So the tactical role of this specific Brigade is pre-ordained.

However, your other two brigades (14th Bde and 19th Australian Bde) may be deployed anywhere else on Crete, as may be decided between yourself and your immediate superiors at 'Creforce' HQ: make sure to join in the discussions about where they should go (and what motor transport they should keep for a mobile reserve). Then decide, in collaboration with your Chief of Staff (Lt Col Wills), exactly what tactics they should employ.

All three of your brigades may well find they have to defend themselves against Parachute / Glider attack. In this case the best recommended defence is to put up the maximum possible volume of fire while the enemy is still in the air or entangled in his parachute harness. At present all your men are fully dug in - but there may be a problem if they have to move to new & unfamiliar positions that do not have trenches and camouflage &c. already provided. And of course, any movement in daylight is likely to be highly vulnerable to air attack...

Personal Briefing for Lt Col Wills = Chief of Staff of 1 / 'Mobile Naval Base Defence Organisation' (MNBDO) Div = MNBDO, 14 and 19 Austr. Brigades + whatever supporting arms are allocated by 'Creforce' HQ.

Your task is to help the Division Commander (General Weston) to deploy and command his Division in battle. In particular you must attend to the details - eg you must advise the General on how to use

your (precious) resources of Motor Transport to best effect. They are enough to carry 3 battalions at a time, with all their equipment (movement possible only at night, due to the air threat).

The Division is called the 'MNBDO' Division for purely historical reasons that need not detain you. In fact the actual MNBDO is just one of the three brigades. It was created for, and is dedicated specifically to, the defence of the port of Khania, and to assisting the operation of that port (in co-ordination with such folks as the RN Port Controller at Khania / Suda Bay, and the commander of AA artillery). So the tactical role of this specific Brigade is pre-ordained.

However, the other two brigades (14th Bde and 19th Australian Bde) may be deployed anywhere else on Crete, as may be decided between the Div Commander and his immediate superiors at 'Creforce' HQ: make sure to join in the discussions about where they should go (and what motor transport they should keep for a mobile reserve). Then help General Weston decide exactly what tactics they will then need to employ.

All three of the brigades may well find they have to defend themselves against Parachute / Glider attack. In this case the best recommended defence is to put up the maximum possible volume of fire while the enemy is still in the air or entangled in his parachute harness. At present all your men are fully dug in - but there may be a problem if they have to move to new & unfamiliar positions that do not have trenches and camouflage &c. already provided. And of course, any movement in daylight is likely to be highly vulnerable to air attack...

Personal Briefing for Lt Col Hely = 'Mobile Naval Base Defence Organisation' (MNBDO) Brigade Commander (Part of 1st MNBDO Div): 1 / Rangers, 102 (RA)*, 106 (RHA)*, 2 / 2* & 2 / 3* Australian Field Regts, 16 Australian Composite*, 17th Australian Composite*, Royal Perivolian Rifles*, 2 Greek Cadet*, Northumberland Hussars* Battalions; Minesweepers x 2 + Motor Patrol Boats x 5. Also POW Camp in Khania (with 15,000 Italian POWs).

The MNBDO Brigade is essentially an infantry brigade like any other, although it may be called more 'colourful' than most (eg the 'Royal Perivolian Rifles' includes a conscripted concert party!). It is also designed as a static, or 'garrison' force, to assist the defence of Khania, specifically, by sea as much as by land. Also all but one of its battalions is classed as 'weak' in either numbers or equipment, so they should not be relied upon to manoeuvre.

Your task will be to keep track of where your battalions are deployed, and to supervise the defence of Khania. If your men are attacked by Paratroops or glider troops it will be essential for them to stand firm, develop the maximum firepower (especially while the

enemy is still vulnerable in the air), and then attempt to maintain the maximum communication (by phone and runners) between sub-units, so they will not be isolated and picked off piecemeal.

Liaise with the RN authorities for the best use of your motor boats; with the RA for artillery support (including AA guns, which will be essential), and with the RE for potential demolitions.

Personal Briefing for **Brig Chappel = 14 Brigade Commander** (1st MNBDO Div): 2 / Black Watch; 2 / York & Lancaster; 2 / Leicester*, 2 / 4 Australian; 7 Med Regt*, 3 Greek Air Cadet*, 7 Greek*, Greek Garrison* Bns

14 Brigade is a good outfit based around two excellent British and one excellent Australian battalion, which will be fit for any task. Admittedly these are bulked out by five battalions of less assured quality (classed as 'weak' in either numbers or equipment), which should be regarded as 'static' or 'defensive' troops. They should not be risked in complicated manoeuvres.

Your task will be to keep track of where your battalions are deployed, and to command them in any battle - although in the hours of daylight (given the enemy's predominance in the air) movement will be difficult. If you need motor transport, ask the Divisional Chief of Staff.

If your men are attacked by Paratroops or glider troops it will be essential for them to stand firm, develop the maximum firepower (especially while the enemy is still vulnerable in the air), and then attempt to maintain the maximum communication (by phone and runners) between sub-units, so they will not be isolated and picked off piecemeal.

Liaise with the RA for artillery support (including AA guns, which will be essential); with the RE for potential demolitions / bridging; and with the Greek General Scoulas for the motivation of your Greek troops.

Personal Briefing for **Brig Vasey = 19 Australian Brigade Commander** (1st MNBDO Div):

2 / 1, 2 / 11, 2 / 7, 2 / 8* Australian, 4 Greek*, 5 Greek*, Cretan Police

19 Australian Brigade is a good outfit based around three excellent Australian infantry battalions, which will be fit for any task. Admittedly these are bulked out by four battalions of less assured quality (classed as 'weak' in either numbers or equipment), which should be regarded as 'static' or 'defensive' troops. They should not be risked in complicated manoeuvres.

Your task will be to keep track of where your battalions are deployed, and to command them in any battle - although in the hours of daylight (given the enemy's predominance in the air) movement will be difficult. If you need motor transport, ask the Divisional Chief of Staff.

If your men are attacked by Paratroops or glider troops it will be essential for them to stand firm, develop the maximum firepower (especially while the enemy is still vulnerable in the air), and then attempt to maintain the maximum communication (by phone and runners) between sub-units, so they will not be isolated and picked off piecemeal.

Liaise with the RA for artillery support (including AA guns, which will be essential); with the RE for potential demolitions / bridging; and with the Greek General Scoulas for the motivation of your Greek troops.

Personal Briefing for Brig. Puttick = Commander 2nd New Zealand Division = 5 NZ, 10 NZ and 4 NZ Brigades and whatever supporting arms are allocated by 'Creforce' HQ.

The defence of Crete is essentially a New Zealand affair! You report directly to General Freyberg VC, the NZ commander of 'Creforce', and you must co-ordinate your plans with his. Your task is to command this Division and run its battle(s), including keeping track of all its units (with the help of your Chief of Staff, Lt Col Gentry). Note especially that movement in daylight is likely to be all but impossible, especially with motor transport, in view of the enemy predominance in air power. The enemy is likely to make a heavy attack with Paratroops, against which the recommended defence is to sit tight in camouflaged positions and shower him with the heaviest possible firepower, especially from automatic weapons while he is still in the air. Then, if he does manage to land and launch a frontal attack, your men should still sit tight and shoot him down yet again!

Personal Briefing for Brig Hargest = 5 NZ Brigade Commander (2nd New Zealand Division)

21*, 22*, 23, 28 Maori, NZ Engineer* Bns

5 NZ Brigade is a good outfit based around two excellent Maori infantry battalions, which will be fit for any task. Admittedly these are bulked out by three battalions of less assured quality (classed as 'weak' in either numbers or equipment), which should be regarded as 'static' or 'defensive' troops. They should not be risked in complicated manoeuvres.

Your task will be to keep track of where your battalions are deployed, and to command them in any battle - although in the hours

of daylight (given the enemy's predominance in the air) movement will be difficult. If you need motor transport, ask the Divisional Chief of Staff.

If your men are attacked by Paratroops or glider troops it will be essential for them to stand firm, develop the maximum firepower (especially while the enemy is still vulnerable in the air), and then attempt to maintain the maximum communication (by phone and runners) between sub-units, so they will not be isolated and picked off piecemeal.

Liaise with the RA for artillery support (including AA guns, which will be essential); and with the RE for potential demolitions / bridging.

Personal Briefing for **Brig Kippenberger = 10 NZ Brigade Commander** (2nd NZ Division): 20 NZ, NZ Composite, 1 Greek, 6 Greek*, 8 Greek*, 'Div Cav' (on foot)* Bns

10 NZ Brigade is a good outfit based around two excellent NZ infantry battalions and one Greek bn, which will be fit for any task. Admittedly these are bulked out by three battalions of less assured quality (classed as 'weak' in either numbers or equipment), which should be regarded as 'static' or 'defensive' troops. They should not be risked in complicated manoeuvres.

Your task will be to keep track of where your battalions are deployed, and to command them in any battle - although in the hours of daylight (given the enemy's predominance in the air) movement will be difficult. If you need motor transport, ask the Divisional Chief of Staff.

If your men are attacked by Paratroops or glider troops it will be essential for them to stand firm, develop the maximum firepower (especially while the enemy is still vulnerable in the air), and then attempt to maintain the maximum communication (by phone and runners) between sub-units, so they will not be isolated and picked off piecemeal.

Liaise with the RA for artillery support (including AA guns, which will be essential); with the RE for potential demolitions / bridging; and with the Greek General Scoulas for the motivation of your Greek troops.

Personal Briefing for the **Mayor of Khania** = represents the Cretan civilian population (incl. all Fishermen)

You should behave in *an excitable manner, hard to understand* by your Anglo-Saxon allies (This is an umpire attempt to replicate the very real difficulties inherent in all alliance warfare).

However; this is not to say that you will try to oppose what your allies are trying to do: on the contrary you should not - just that you should act hard to understand! But do protest to the allied commanders whenever the Germans bomb a town or village or if - as may happen - they commit atrocities against civilians on the pretext that 'someone shot at them'. Always remember that this is not your war, so your citizens should not be suffering from it!

Personal Briefing for **Brig Inglis = 4 NZ Brigade Commander** (2nd New Zealand Division)

18 NZ, 19 NZ*, 1 / Welch Bns

4NZ Brigade is a good outfit based around two excellent infantry battalions, which will be fit for any task. Admittedly these are bulked out by a battalion of less assured quality (classed as 'weak' in either numbers or equipment), which should be regarded as 'static' or 'defensive' troops. It should not be risked in complicated manoeuvres.

Your task will be to keep track of where your battalions are deployed, and to command them in any battle - although in the hours of daylight (given the enemy's predominance in the air) movement will be difficult. If you need motor transport, ask the Divisional Chief of Staff.

If your men are attacked by Paratroops or glider troops it will be essential for them to stand firm, develop the maximum firepower (especially while the enemy is still vulnerable in the air), and then attempt to maintain the maximum communication (by phone and runners) between sub-units, so they will not be isolated and picked off piecemeal.

Liaise with the RA for artillery support (including AA guns, which will be essential); and with the RE for potential demolitions / bridging.

Personal Briefing for **General Scoulas = Greek Army Commander**

You should behave in *an excitable manner, hard to understand* by your Anglo-Saxon allies (This is an umpire attempt to replicate the very real difficulties inherent in all alliance warfare). However; this is not to say that you will try to oppose what your allies are trying to do: on the contrary you should not - just that you should act hard to understand! (and of course always stop all business if there is an Orthodox service in progress...)

Matters will naturally be made difficult simply through the fact that you 'command' (and know the language of) as many as a quarter of the allied troops (total 10 battalions) in other people's brigades, ie 'commanded' by other people who don't speak Greek, as follows:-

Hely's MNDBO Brigade: 2 / Greek Cadet Battalion

Chappel's 14 Brigade: 3 / Greek Air Cadet*, 7 / Greek*, Greek Garrison* Bns

Vasey's 19 Australian Brigade: 4 / Greek*, 5 / Greek*, Cretan Police Bns

Kippenberger's 10 NZ Brigade: 1 / Greek, 6 / Greek*, 8 / Greek* Bns

So the key question is: will you accept the right of these British, Australian and NZ officers to 'command' your brave Greek troops? I suggest you should do so, while regarding your own role as just 'motivating' them - giving them patriotic speeches and other advice. You should at least insist on your right (and the right of the Church) to have access to Greek troops whenever you want it.

But above all this you have two other responsibilities, which you should also discharge in an excitable manner, as befits their importance. The first is to ensure the safety of the King (HM George II) and his large pile of gold - which are currently in Khania. Obviously if the port of Khania is closed by enemy air attacks, and if it is likely that the Germans may actually invade the whole island, then it is VITAL that the King (and his gold) be evacuated to safety - preferably to Egypt. Note that a subversive clandestine group under a German 'Major Bock' is thought to be already active in Crete, attempting to raise a popular insurrection against the Greek government and King.

The second point is - Please remember the extra 6,000 Greek Supernumeraries, Home Guards, Coast Watchers, Police &c (deployed all over the island; all under your command). You should stress their importance to your allies.

Personal Briefing for Lt Col Gentry = Chief of Staff 2nd New Zealand Division = 5 NZ, 10 NZ and 4 NZ Brigades and whatever supporting arms are allocated by 'Creforce' HQ.

Your task is to help Brig Puttick run the 2nd NZ Div. His brief is to "report directly to General Freyberg VC, the NZ commander of 'Creforce', and you must co-ordinate your plans with his. Your task is to command this Division and run its battle(s), including keeping track of all its units. Note especially that movement in daylight is likely to be all but impossible, especially with motor transport, in view of the enemy predominance in air power. The enemy is likely to make a heavy attack with Paratroops, against which the recommended defence is to sit tight in camouflaged positions and shower him with the heaviest possible firepower, especially from automatic weapons while he is still in the air. Then, if he does manage to land and launch a frontal attack, your men should still sit tight and shoot him down yet again!"

As chief of staff, you must especially decide how to use your (very scarce) resources of Motor Transport, which is enough to carry only one battalion at a time, with all its equipment (movement possible only at night, due to the air threat).

Personal Briefing for **Col Gen Lohr = CinC Luftflotte IV**

Colonel General Lohr, you take orders from the Commander of the Air Force (Marshal Hermann Goering), and from the Fuhrer, who are both in Berlin (and both played by the Political umpire = Phil Sawford). At present the orders are clear = 'capture Crete'! However it is possible that some restraints may be imposed if losses threaten to become too heavy: (a) The aircraft of *Luftflotte IV* will be required for (unspecified but 'important') operations 'somewhere in Europe' within a few short weeks after 'Mercury' ends. (b) The infantry of *Fliegerkorps XI* are committed Nazis and the absolute élite among all our heroic Aryan warriors. It would be a very cruel loss to the Reich if they were to suffer serious casualties = "I would rather HAVE a *Kamerad* than 'have had' him!"

Lohr must also be aware of two other important 'political' considerations. The first is the firm Axis alliance with our dearest friend Benito Mussolini. We need his main battle fleet (based in Taranto under Adml Iachino) to remove the English Navy from the battle for Crete. Lohr must therefore do all he can to secure their help. To do this he can go through (a) The Italian Ambassador to Greece (played by the political umpire) and / or (b) The Italian Naval Liaison Officer (played by a player).

Secondly, Lohr must recognise the aspirations of the new Greek government in Athens (also played by the political umpire). They gratifyingly sympathise with the whole German project for Europe (including the small matter of those 'unspecified but important' operations 'somewhere in Europe' within a few short weeks after 'Mercury' ends); and in particular they are hungry to see Crete reunited with mainland Greece. They particularly want to get hold of the former (discredited) King George II and - maybe even more urgently - his gold (both were last spotted in Khania). But they are also anxious to stress to you that atrocities against Greek civilians and the Orthodox Church will not be acceptable. Not only will they undermine the authority of the new Greek government itself, but they will also undermine the authority of the German Reich and its agents, and will be guaranteed to provoke the rise of armed insurgency and terrorism!

Personal Briefing for **Luftflotte IV Chief of Intelligence** = to keep track of enemy ground forces (*Note that you need not worry about enemy air & naval forces*).

You will just have to keep asking all your comrades in FK XI who are in combat, if they can identify (a) the numbers and (b) the unit ID of the enemy they are fighting (to be discovered through POW interrogation &c). You should try to establish a map of enemy dispositions, although aerial photography has so far been very disappointing for all this - except it has at least located emplaced 4" coast defence guns at Maleme, Khania, Yeoryopolis (east end of Suda Bay) & Heraklion.

But do keep asking the bomber groups of FK VIII if they can see anything interesting!

Personal Briefing for the **Colonel QM of Luftflotte IV** = to keep track of airfield maintenance & logistics

You have twelve airfields in the area of Athens. Five (#1-5) are for the Ju 52 transports of General Conrad's *Fliegerdivision XI*; Four (#6-9) are for the bombers of Col Reikhoff and Three (#10-12) for the Fighters and Recce planes of Major Woldenga (Both = FK VIII). They all begin at full operability; but in view of the intensity of traffic that we can expect, they may be degraded by enemy action, accidents, congestion or shortages of fuel. Umpires will keep you updated on their state of operability at any given moment, and you should then be able to report accordingly to your superiors and subordinates!

An important part of your task is to monitor the supply of fuel and bombs to the *Luftflotte*. Once again, the umpires will keep you updated, and you can relay the news.

Personal Briefing for **Admiral Schuster = Commander of Naval Forces**

The *Kriegsmarine* is sadly under-represented in the forthcoming battle for Crete, apart from the essential command and control infrastructure (such as yourself and your CoS, Capt. Schmidt!). But in truth all our naval resources in this theatre are either Italian or Greek:

- a) The escort destroyers, MAS boats, submarines &c are Italian
- b) The transport *caiques* are Greek
- c) The San Marco Marine Battalion is Italian
- d) The main Italian battle fleet (in Taranto under Adml Lachino) is, er, Italian!

You certainly need to talk to the Italian naval liaison officer, Lt Fulgosi. Nevertheless, it is you who are in command of the naval operations in the waters between Greece and Crete, so you must organise and direct (a), (b) and (c), above, even though (d) (The main Italian battle fleet) will operate quite independently of you.

You should pay attention to the cargoes that 5th Mountain Division will want you to carry (= mainly tanks and artillery - but also mules); and you must find when they want them delivered. Presumably they will have to be delivered to Khania, which is the only port with the dock facilities needed to land heavy equipment. But at present Khania is in enemy hands - so you will have to make sure it has been captured before you try to land!

Note the slow speed of your *caique* fleet(s), and remember that it is vulnerable to attack by enemy warships at night - but it can be protected pretty comprehensively by the bombers of *Luftflotte IV* in daytime.

Personal Briefing for **Captain Schmidt** = **Chief of Staff Naval Forces**

Your task is to help Adml Schuster command the *Kriegsmarine* in the forthcoming battle for Crete: but in truth all our naval resources in this theatre are either Italian or Greek:

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Personal Briefing for the **Italian Naval Liaison Officer, Lt Fulgosi**

You are the only Italian voice within this entire 'Mercury' operation, which has been 100% "Made in Germany". Italy has had absolutely no input into the planning, development or execution of this whole business. YES we accept that its heart is generally 'in the right place' and in Italy's wider strategic interest - but NO we are upset that we were not consulted beforehand, and that Italy was regarded as some sort of 'enemy' who could not be trusted with the secret that this operation was about to happen, which our Teutonic allies were keeping to themselves - especially since the British apparently seem to have been fully informed of German plans in advance!

Please complain loudly about this issue to the Germans.

In more concrete terms, please also negotiate the potential use of Italian assets:- (a) There is already an Italian Marine Battalion attached to the German navy in Athens, fully ready to take its part - and accept casualties - in the invasion of Crete. (b) At present *Fliegerkorps VIII* is flying a number of Italian Cant Z506 Seaplanes. We can send a group of 100 bombers to reinforce them in, ooh, let's say three weeks' time? (c) The naval forces available to escort the convoy(s) of 5th Mtn div troops to Crete (= light destroyer escorts; MAS boats, and submarines) are all Italian; (d) Of course the decisive force in this campaign is likely to be the main Italian battle fleet (stationed in Taranto, under admiral Iachino). Do not tell your German allies that it is under the strictest orders NOT to set sail under any circumstances (for fear of the Royal Navy); but DO tell them that "It will set sail at once, just as soon as the Germans can supply it with 60,000 tons of fuel oil." Play them along! Encourage them in this belief! How can a battleship sail without fuel?

Rub in the fact that all this help could have been available already if only the Germans had warned us in advance about the attack on Crete.

Personal Briefing for **Gen.Freiherr von Richtofen = Commander *Fliegerkorps VIII***

You have command of all the fighters, bombers and recce planes of FK VIII. Consult *Luftflotte IV* HQ and General Student (FK XI) to find what needs to be done, and with Major Woldenga and Colonel Reikhoff to find how it can be done (It will be for them to keep track of the details).

There are twelve airfields in the area of Athens. Five (#1-5) are for the Ju 52 transports of General Conrad's *Fliegerdivision XI*; Four (#6-9) are for the bombers of Col Reikhoff and Three (#10-12) for the Fighters and Recce planes of Major Woldenga (Both = FK VIII). You should liaise with the *Luftflotte IV* QM to keep up to date on the state of operability of each airfield at each phase of the battle. They all begin at full operability; but in view of the intensity of traffic that we can expect,

they may be degraded by enemy action, accidents, congestion or shortages of fuel.

Personal Briefing for **Major Woldenga = Fighters and Recce Planes** (Fliegerkorps VIII)

You are responsible (in order of priority) for:-

- (a) Maintaining fighter cover for all movements by the Ju 52 transports of General Conrad's *Fliegerdivision XI*
- (b) Maintaining fighter cover for all the movements of Col Reikhoff's bombers
- (c) Maintaining fighter cover for all naval movements
- (d) Conducting maximum recce of enemy positions and movements on the ground and at sea
- (e) If there is any spare capacity after all that, strafe the enemy wherever he may be found - especially if he's moving on the roads in Crete!

You will have to keep track of the movements of all your aircraft in each phase of the battle.

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General Student = Commander *Fliegerkorps XI*

Your role is to command FK XI, and especially to plan initial deployments - and then to keep track of the battle(s). You should start by consulting closely with *Luftflotte HQ*, and then explaining your plans to them (Lohr & FK VIII are not specialists in airborne operations, whereas you are). You must be clear where and when Meindl's Assault Regiment & Corps Troops are going to drop (& why), and where the three Para regiments should be deployed. Liaise with all these commanders to devise and execute the best plan.

Note that Corps HQ and some of Meindl's Corps Troops are Air Landing units - ie they will be unable to come to earth until an airfield has been secured first (and then you will have to help decide their place in the pecking order, as opposed to 5th Mountain Div, which is also air landing).

Your transport aircraft (In Conrad's *Fliegerdivision XI*) are based on five airfields around Athens (#1-5). You should liase with the *Luftflotte IV QM* to keep up to date on the state of operability of each airfield at each phase of the battle. They all begin at full operability; but in view of the intensity of traffic that we can expect, they may be degraded by enemy action, accidents, congestion or shortages of fuel.

Also the timings are very important. Your airfields are roughly 200 miles away from Crete, ie one hour's marshalling time plus one hour's flying time = total 2 hours for the journey to the target. In a typical day you would take off at dawn (0500 hrs) and arrive over Crete at 0700 hrs, for dropping Paras (or gliders) or landing on an airfield. If you drop Paras (or gliders), allowing for delays and accidents, you will be able to land everything back again around Athens by 0900-1000. There will then be a four hour delay while the aircraft are turned round (refuelled and reloaded), so you can take off again for the afternoon lift around 1300-1400, to land again well before dusk (2100). But note that if your aircraft need to land on an airfield on Crete, you will have to allow at least an extra hour for them to unload and take off again (subject to the accidents of battle!).

Note that flying at night is dangerous with such large numbers of aircraft. But in the special case of a dawn attack by gliders (which is their optimum timing) you should be prepared to take the extra risk of taking off two hours before dawn.

Personal Briefing for **Maj Gen Schlemm = Chief of Staff to FK XI**

Your role is to help General Student and the Chief of Operations to command FK XI, and especially to help them plan initial deployments - and then to keep track of the battle(s). You should be clear where & when Meindl's Assault Regiment and Corps Troops are going to drop (& why), and where the three Para regiments should be deployed. Liaise with all these commanders to devise and execute the best plan.

Note that Corps HQ and some of Meindl's Corps Troops are Air Landing units - ie they will be unable to come to earth until an airfield has been secured (and then you will have to help decide their place in the pecking order, as opposed to 5th Mountain Div, which is also air landing).

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Personal Briefing for **Colonel Reikhoff = Bombers** (incl Dive Bombers) (*Fliegerkorps VIII*)

You are responsible for giving targets to your bombers, in consultation with General Richtofen, the commander of *Fliegerkorps VIII*. Dive Bombers can attack point targets, such as: (a) Ships (and the bigger they are, the easier they are to hit); (b) Troops, Guns and Vehicles on land (easiest to hit if they're moving in the open); (c) Aircraft parked in the open. Other bombers can attack area targets, such as (a) Docks; (b) Towns; (c) Fortified Positions; (d) Airfield buildings (and their runways).

You will have to keep track of the movements of all your aircraft in each phase of the battle. Remember to get fighter cover for all your operations, from Major Woldenga.

There are twelve airfields in the area of Athens. Five (#1-5) are for the Ju 52 transports of General Conrad's *Fliegerdivision XI*; Four (#6-9) are for the bombers of Col Reikhoff and Three (#10-12) for the Fighters and Recce planes of Major Woldenga (Both = FK VIII). You should liaise with the *Luftflotte IV QM* to keep up to date on the state of operability of each airfield at each phase of the battle. They all begin at full operability; but in view of the intensity of traffic that we can expect, they may be degraded by enemy action, accidents, congestion or shortages of fuel.

Personal Briefing for **Chief of Operations to FK XI (a colonel)**

Your role is to help General Student and his staff to command FK XI, and especially to help them plan initial deployments (where, when and why) - and then to keep track of the battle(s). You should be clear where Meindl's Assault Regiment & Corps Troops are going to drop, and where the three Para regiments should be deployed. Liaise with all these commanders to devise and execute the best plan.

Note that Corps HQ and some of Meindl's Corps Troops are Air Landing units - ie they will be unable to come to earth until an airfield has been secured (and then you will have to help decide their place in the pecking order, as opposed to 5th Mountain Div, which is also air landing).

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Also the timings are very important. Your airfields are roughly 200 miles away from Crete, ie one hour's marshalling time plus one hour's flying time = total 2 hours for the journey to the target. In a typical day you would take off at dawn (0500 hrs) and arrive over Crete at 0700 hrs, for dropping Paras (or gliders) or landing on an airfield. If you drop Paras (or gliders), allowing for delays and accidents, you will be able to land everything back again around Athens by 0900-1000. There will then be a four hour delay while the aircraft are turned round (refuelled and reloaded), so you can take off again for the afternoon lift around 1300-1400, to land again well before dusk (2100). But note that if your aircraft need to land on an airfield on Crete, you will have to allow at least an extra hour for them to unload and take off again (subject to the accidents of battle!).

Note that flying at night is dangerous with such large numbers of aircraft. But in the special case of a dawn attack by gliders (which is their optimum timing) you should be prepared to take the extra risk of taking off two hours before dawn.

Personal Briefing for **Captain Gericke = Glider Assault Battalion (FK XI Corps Troops)**

You have the great honour of commanding the spearhead of the spearhead: the élite of the élite. In particular your glider assault battalion is a proven weapon for silent surprise assault (as at Fort Eben Emael last year: the gliders are released at long range from the target, before the tugs' engines can be heard by the enemy). Ideally this type of assault should be launched half an hour before the enemy is alerted to the rest of the assault, and preferably at or just before dawn. It should aim to land directly on top of the target: the troops will then leap out of the gliders before the enemy is aware of their presence or can man his weapons (whereas it is much harder to conceal any large Para drop).

You should join the discussions on exactly where and when your gliders will land - and then you must lead them from the front!

Personal Briefing for the **Civil Administrator** for Student's FK XI = to organise captured areas and their population and run the police

You have a staff of 7, which means that you and they can all be fitted into a single Ju 52 transport plane, and then you can all parachute together! (ie you are 'One Landing Unit'). Your task is to jump in the first wave to take a grip on civil relations in Crete. You must **IMPRESS** the importance of this mission upon General Student and his staff, so that they will give you priority **AND** give you an armed escort (a platoon or more). You must also decide on the exact location of your landing. It must be near a major centre of Cretan population - but it must also be a place where Student's troops are landing in strength in the first wave.

Once you have arrived in a Cretan town you must issue proclamations to explain to the population that they are now under a temporary regime of German martial law; and to the police that they must help enforce this! A regularised government (directed from Athens) will follow as soon as possible. Your main PR line should be that "Resistance is futile - join the winning side"; "The old king George is yesterday's man"; "The new democratic government will look after your interests and resist the forces of Anglo-Saxon Imperialism, Bolshevism, Atheism (and all those other isms that you hate so much)". "Always remember - Fascism is best!".

Note that our 'Major Bock' clandestine group is already active in Crete to raise a popular insurrection against the Greek government & king.

Personal Briefing for **Maj Gen Meindl** = **Commanding *Fliegerkorps* XI Corps Troops**

You have the great honour of commanding the spearhead of the spearhead: the élite of the élite. In particular Gericke's glider assault battalion is a proven weapon for silent surprise assault (as at Fort Eben Emael last year: the gliders are released at long range from the target, before the tugs' engines can be heard by the enemy). Ideally this type of assault should be launched half an hour before the enemy is alerted to the rest of the assault, and preferably at or just before dawn. It should aim to land directly on top of the target: the troops will then leap out of the gliders before the enemy is aware of their presence or can man his weapons (whereas it is much harder to conceal any large Para drop).

After the glider troops, Koch's Para Assault regiment will tell you that they are tougher and more experienced than the other three Para regiments in FK XI (and they prove it in bar fights most weekends). But the tactical methods in combat are just the same for all four regiments.

Planning a Para assault always requires an agonising choice between (a) Attempting to land directly on the target, in the hope that

its defenders will not be able to develop enough firepower to stop the assault, in the time it takes for the Paras to disentangle themselves from their harness, find their weapons, organise small groups, and launch an overland charge. This is a risky option (and more risky than a glider assault, since it takes longer): but against faint hearted troops it can work! (as it did several times in 1940). Alternatively (b) The Paras could land outside the range of the defenders' weapons, advance to contact on foot, and then make a conventional attack overland, as conventional light infantry. This is much less risky - provided the Paras can manage to land accurately on their intended Dropping Zone (DZ), which is never a certainty. Note also that our Paras are considerably better armed and trained for close quarter fighting than any other force so far identified anywhere on the entire planet!

Unfortunately not all of your command can be Para dropped; 41 Motorcycle Detachment, the AA MG Battalion, and Koch's Assault Regiment HQ (but not including Koch himself, who will jump with just two or three aides, a map and a radio) are Air Landing troops - ie they will be unable to come to earth until an airfield has been secured (and then you will have to argue for their place in the pecking order, as opposed to 5th Mountain Div, which is also air landing).

Personal Briefing for Gen Sussmann, OC *Fliegerdivision VII* (7th Parachute Division)

Your role is to command FD VIII, and especially to plan initial deployments - following the directions that will be given by Corps HQ - and then to keep track of the battle(s). Your Chief of Staff will help you in all this. You should be clear where the divisional HQ & transport staff will be dropped, as well as the Artillery Detachment of 10 x 75 mm Recoilless Rifles and the AT Detachment of 25 x 37 mm guns. Liaise with Liebach for the uses to be made of his Pioneer and MG battalions; and with the three regimental commanders for their Paratroop infantry.

Personal Briefing for Maj Koch = Assault Regiment Para assault bns 1, 2, 3 (FK XI Corps Troops)

Your Para Assault regiment assures you that they are tougher and more experienced than any of the other three Para regiments in FK XI (and they prove it in bar fights most weekends). But the tactical methods in combat are just the same for all four regiments.

Planning a Para assault always requires an agonising choice between (a) Attempting to land directly on the target, in the hope that its defenders will not be able to develop enough firepower to stop the assault, in the time it takes for the Paras to disentangle themselves from their harness, find their weapons, organise small groups, and launch an overland charge. This is a risky option (and more risky than

a glider assault, since it takes longer): but against faint hearted troops it can work! (as it did several times in 1940). Alternatively (b) The Paras could land outside the range of the defenders' weapons, advance to contact on foot, and then make a conventional attack overland, as conventional light infantry. This is much less risky - provided the Paras can manage to land accurately on their intended Dropping Zone (DZ), which is never a certainty. Note also that our Paras are considerably better armed and trained for close quarter fighting than any other force so far identified anywhere on the entire planet!

Please participate in the discussions about exactly where and when your Paras will drop - and then you must lead them from the front!

Unfortunately your Assault Regiment HQ (but not including you yourself, who will jump with just two or three aides, a map and a radio) are Air Landing troops - ie they will be unable to come to earth until an airfield has been secured (and then you will have to argue for their place in the pecking order, as opposed to the air landing 41 Motorcycle Detachment and the AA MG Battalion, also of FK XI; and the 5th Mountain [air landing] Div).

Personal Briefing for Colonel Chief of Staff to *Fliegerdivision VII* (= 7th Parachute Division)

Your role is to help General Sussmann command FD VIII, and especially to help him plan initial deployments - and then to keep track of the battle(s). You should be clear where the divisional HQ & transport staff will be dropped, as well as the Artillery Detachment of 10 x 75 mm Recoilless Rifles and the AT Detachment of 25 x 37 mm guns. Liaise with Liebach for the uses to be made of his Pioneer and MG battalions; and with the three regimental commanders for their Paratroop infantry.

Personal Briefing for Col Brauer = Para Regiment I (FD VII = 7th Parachute Division)

Your Para regiment assures you that they are tougher and more experienced than any of the other three Para regiments in FK XI (and they prove it in bar fights most weekends). But the tactical methods in combat are just the same for all four regiments.

Planning a Para assault always requires an agonising choice between (a) Attempting to land directly on the target, in the hope that its defenders will not be able to develop enough firepower to stop the assault, in the time it takes for the Paras to disentangle themselves from their harness, find their weapons, organise small groups, and launch an overland charge. This is a risky option (and more risky than a glider assault, since it takes longer): but against faint hearted troops

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Please participate in the discussions about exactly where and when your Paras will drop - and then you must lead them from the front!

Remember that you have Divisional Artillery (9 x 75 mm or 105 mm guns) to reinforce you, which must be Air Landed in 3 parts, ie in addition to your para-dropped guns (Total 27 x LU)

Personal Briefing for Col Sturm = Para Regiment II (FD VII = 7th Parachute Division)

Your Para regiment assures you that they are tougher and more experienced than any of the other three Para regiments in FK XI (and they prove it in bar fights most weekends). But the tactical methods in combat are just the same for all four regiments.

Planning a Para assault always requires an agonising choice between (a) Attempting to land directly on the target, in the hope that its defenders will not be able to develop enough firepower to stop the assault, in the time it takes for the Paras to disentangle themselves from their harness, find their weapons, organise small groups, and launch an overland charge. This is a risky option (and more risky than a glider assault, since it takes longer): but against faint hearted troops it can work! (as it did several times in 1940). Alternatively (b) The Paras could land outside the range of the defenders' weapons, advance to contact on foot, and then make a conventional attack overland, as conventional light infantry. This is much less risky - provided the Paras can manage to land accurately on their intended Dropping Zone (DZ), which is never a certainty. Note also that our Paras are considerably better armed and trained for close quarter fighting than any other force so far identified anywhere on the entire planet!

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Remember that you have Divisional Artillery (9 x 75 mm or 105 mm guns) to reinforce you, which must be Air Landed in 3 parts, ie in addition to your para-dropped guns (Total 27 x LU)

Personal Briefing for **Col Heidrich = Para Regiment III** (FD VII = 7th Parachute Division)

Your Para regiment assures you that they are tougher and more experienced than any of the other three Para regiments in FK XI (and they prove it in bar fights most weekends). But the tactical methods in combat are just the same for all four regiments.

Planning a Para assault always requires an agonising choice between (a) Attempting to land directly on the target, in the hope that its defenders will not be able to develop enough firepower to stop the assault, in the time it takes for the Paras to disentangle themselves from their harness, find their weapons, organise small groups, and launch an overland charge. This is a risky option (and more risky than a glider assault, since it takes longer): but against faint hearted troops it can work! (as it did several times in 1940). Alternatively (b) The Paras could land outside the range of the defenders' weapons, advance to contact on foot, and then make a conventional attack overland, as conventional light infantry. This is much less risky - provided the Paras can manage to land accurately on their intended Dropping Zone (DZ), which is never a certainty. Note also that our Paras are considerably better armed and trained for close quarter fighting than any other force so far identified anywhere on the entire planet!

Please participate in the discussions about exactly where and when your Paras will drop - and then you must lead them from the front!

Remember that you have Divisional Artillery (9 x 75 mm or 105 mm guns) to reinforce you, which must be Air Landed in 3 parts, ie in addition to your para-dropped guns (Total 27 x LU)

PS: The commander of your first battalion, Captain *Freiherr* von der Heydte, is worth watching: he shows great promise, and he says he's writing his memoirs!

Personal Briefing for **Maj Liebach = Pioneer Bn and MG Bn of FD VII** (= 7th Para Division)

- Pioneer Bn with MGs, Flamethrowers, Explosives &c + MG Bn and Recce Platoon

You command some of the essential spearhead troops of *Fliegerdivision* VII, responsible for Recce and Assault Combat Engineering (eg to open the way through obstacles ahead of the main forces of Paratroop infantry). You must liaise with Divisional HQ and with the three Para Regiment HQs to work out the best times and places for your troops to be deployed - and then you must lead them from the front!

Personal Briefing for **Gen Conrad = Commander *Fliegerdivision XI***
(Air Transport)

= Air Transport, incl. Glider Group of 70 gliders and Ju 52 Groups x 5, totalling 500 planes: Range 800. (Each glider needs one Ju 52 to tug it). and Reserve ammunition loads ready to fly (Air Landing only: 50 x LU).

Your role is to run the air transport side of FD XI. In particular you must keep track of exactly what is flying in each lift, by liaising with your 'passengers' (ie the troops of FK XI). Your Chief of Staff will help you with all this. Your aircraft are based on five airfields around Athens (#1-5). You should liaise with the *Luftflotte IV* QM to keep up to date on the state of operability of each airfield at each phase of the battle. They all begin at full operability; but in view of the intensity of traffic that we can expect, they may be degraded by enemy action, accidents, congestion or shortages of fuel.

Also the timings are very important. Your airfields are roughly 200 miles away from Crete, ie one hour's marshalling time plus one hour's flying time = total 2 hours for the journey to the target. In a typical day you would take off at dawn (0500 hrs) and arrive over Crete at 0700 hrs, for dropping Paras (or gliders) or landing on an airfield. If you drop Paras (or gliders), allowing for delays and accidents, you will be able to land everything back again around Athens by 0900-1000. There will then be a four hour delay while the aircraft are turned round (refuelled and reloaded), so you can take off again for the afternoon lift around 1300-1400, to land again well before dusk (2100). But note that if your aircraft need to land on an airfield on Crete, you will have to allow at least an extra hour for them to unload and take off again (subject to the accidents of battle!).

Note that flying at night is dangerous with such large numbers of aircraft. But in the special case of a dawn attack by gliders (which is their optimum timing) you should be prepared to take the extra risk of taking off two hours before dawn.

Personal Briefing for **Colonel Chief of Staff to *Fliegerdivision XI*** (Air Transport)

= Air Transport, incl. Glider Group of 70 gliders + Ju 52 Groups x 5, totalling 500 planes: Range 800. (Each glider needs one Ju 52 to tug it) and Reserve ammunition loads ready to fly (Air Landing only: 50 x LU)

Your role is to help General Conrad in his task of running the air transport side of FD XI. In particular you must keep track of exactly what is flying in each lift, by liaising with your 'passengers' (ie the troops of FK XI). Your aircraft are based on five airfields around Athens (#1-5). You should liaise with the *Luftflotte IV* QM to keep up to date on the state of operability of each airfield at each phase of the battle. They all

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Note that flying at night is dangerous with such large numbers of aircraft. But in the special case of a dawn attack by gliders (which is their optimum timing) you should be prepared to take the extra risk of taking off two hours before dawn.

Personal Briefing for **Maj Gen Ringel = Commands 5th Mountain Division**

Your role is to command 5 Mtn Div, which is the follow-on formation for the invasion of Crete, after the initial assault by Sussmann's (largely Para) *Fliegerdivision* VII. But your troops do not have parachutes! They must land on airfields before they can enter the battle. In other words FD VII must capture at least one airfield before your Division can operate at all. It is therefore essential that you liase closely with both Sussmann and Conrad (the Commander of *Fliegerdivision* XI, which is responsible for providing the transport planes). Your Chief of Staff will help you with all this.

Once your men have landed, they will probably have to fight their way forward in the middle of a battle that will already have been started by FD VII. Once again you will have to collaborate closely with Sussmann and his men - and you will have to keep track of your units as the battle progresses.

Note that your Divisional Support Regiment [= Tank Bn (25 x Pz Mk II; 35 x Pz Mk III; 10 x Pz Mk IV) and Artillery Bns 1 and 2 (105 and 155 mm guns) and limitless numbers of pack mules] cannot go by air at all, but must all be carried in *Caiques* under Naval command. Liase with Admiral Schuster, Commander of Naval Forces, for the time and place of their landing.

Personal Briefing for **Colonel Chief of Staff to 5 Mountain Div**

Your role is to help General Ringel command 5 Mtn Div, which is the follow-on formation for the invasion of Crete, after the initial assault by Sussmann's (largely Para) *Fliegerdivision* VII. But your troops do not have parachutes! They must land on airfields before they can enter the battle. In other words FD VII must capture at least one airfield before your Division can operate at all. It is therefore essential that you liaise closely with both Sussmann and Conrad (the Commander of *Fliegerdivision* XI, which is responsible for providing the transport planes).

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Personal Briefing for **Lt Col Wittmann = 95 Mountain Artillery Regt** (5th Mountain Div)

Your regiment assures you that they are tougher and more experienced than any of the other three mountain regiments in 5 Mtn Div (and they prove it in bar fights most weekends - as well as by spectacular feats of Alpinism. Who climbed Mount Kilimanjaro fastest? They did!). And in military terms they certainly have more firepower!

Your role in combat is to bring artillery and AT weapons to bear wherever they are needed in the 5th Mountain Division's battle. The lighter guns can be air landed; but the heavier guns (and the tanks on loan to your command from 2nd Panzer Division) must come by sea. Liaise with Admiral Schuster, Commander of Naval Forces, for the time and place of their landing.

Once battle is joined, you must ask Divisional HQ where your forces are needed.

Personal Briefing for **Col Krakau = 85 Mountain Regt** (5th Mountain Div)

Your mountain regiment assures you that they are tougher and more experienced than any of the other three mountain regiments in 5 Mtn Div (and they prove it in bar fights most weekends - as well as by spectacular feats of Alpinism. Who climbed the Matterhorn fastest?

They did!). But the tactical methods in combat are just the same for all three infantry regiments in the Division.

Basically your men are élite light infantry, skilled in small unit tactics (although because they come by air, they are somewhat short of heavy weapons). They are magnificent in the assault, and totally invincible in defence. Your task is to use them to best effect, according to the plans of the Division Commander (General Ringel).

Personal Briefing for Col Utz = 100 Mountain Regt (5th Mountain Div)

Your mountain regiment assures you that they are tougher and more experienced than any of the other three mountain regiments in 5 Mtn Div (and they prove it in bar fights most weekends - as well as by spectacular feats of Alpinism. Who climbed the Jungfrau fastest? They did!). But the tactical methods in combat are just the same for all three infantry regiments in the Division.

Basically your men are élite light infantry, skilled in small unit tactics (although because they come by air, they are somewhat short of heavy weapons). They are magnificent in the assault, and totally invincible in defence. Your task is to use them to best effect, according to the plans of the Division Commander (General Ringel).

Personal Briefing for Col Jais = 141 Mountain Regt (5th Mountain Div)

Your mountain regiment assures you that they are tougher and more experienced than any of the other three mountain regiments in 5 Mtn Div (and they prove it in bar fights most weekends - as well as by spectacular feats of Alpinism. Who climbed Mont Blanc fastest? They did!). But the tactical methods in combat are just the same for all three infantry regiments in the Division.

Basically your men are élite light infantry, skilled in small unit tactics (although because they come by air, they are somewhat short of heavy weapons). They are magnificent in the assault, and totally invincible in defence. Your task is to use them to best effect, according to the plans of the Division Commander (General Ringel).

In the event the Duxford 'Mercury' game saw a concentrated mass attack on Heraklion by all the available German forces. The British inflicted a very bloody nose on them at first; but because our 'General Freyberg' regarded the initial drop as a feint, he failed to reinforce the key point when it might have been useful. By the end of 21st May the whole of Fliegerkorps IX was on the ground around Heraklion, and well

on the way to beating down the (by now seriously shrinking) opposition. True to the reality, however, the Royal Navy did at least manage to destroy the Axis seaborne convoys.

Section Two: A Selection of e-mail Games

Chapter Four: 'Operation Barbarossa' 1941

In 2008 I ran a game by e-mail on 'Operation Barbarossa 1941' for the author Andrew Roberts, as an aid to his cogitations about Hitler's strategy for his book *The Storm of War*. (37) It had one umpire (me) and four players, and we cantered through this epochal campaign in the course of about four real months - ie almost 'real time'!

I bit the bullet (contrary to all my previous instincts) and allowed members of each team to correspond directly with each other by e-mail whenever they wanted, thereby by-passing the GHU. But the advantage was that instead of having four players, I had in effect reduced them to just two 'decision points', which helped speed up game mechanics. I then had to compress the action (which, with about 60 Axis army corps and equivalent Soviet forces and 8,000 aircraft &c &c, could obviously become infinitely complex, if allowed to be!) into a manageable format. This meant making a number of outrageous generalisations, notably my attempt to reduce the OB to 'Armies' rather than Corps or Divisions. In any case the game had to be 'over by Christmas' in real time as well as game time, which meant we had to crack on sharply!

I started the game off on different dates for the two sides. In the case of the German players I let them assemble a new plan in advance - ie they were not forced to follow the plan that had been followed in real life. (38) In the event they opted to thrust for Leningrad and Moscow but NOT, very much, for the Ukraine - ie they did not spread their forces as widely as their historical predecessors had done, but were able to make greater concentrations against what they saw as the two key Russian cities. My starting point for the Orders of Battle was John Ellis' *World War 2 Databook* (39), although of course the Germans were free to regroup their forces before the first 'turn' - ie Army Group South was free to transfer forces to Army Groups Centre and North before the game began.

In the case of the Soviet players I took the decision that they would inevitably be taken completely by surprise, and that Comrade Stalin would be unable to assemble his thoughts until 48 hours after the

attack began - which I believe was the case in real life. So their game began on 24 June, whereas the German attack began on the 22nd. The Soviets had to play 'catch up' for many weeks thereafter.

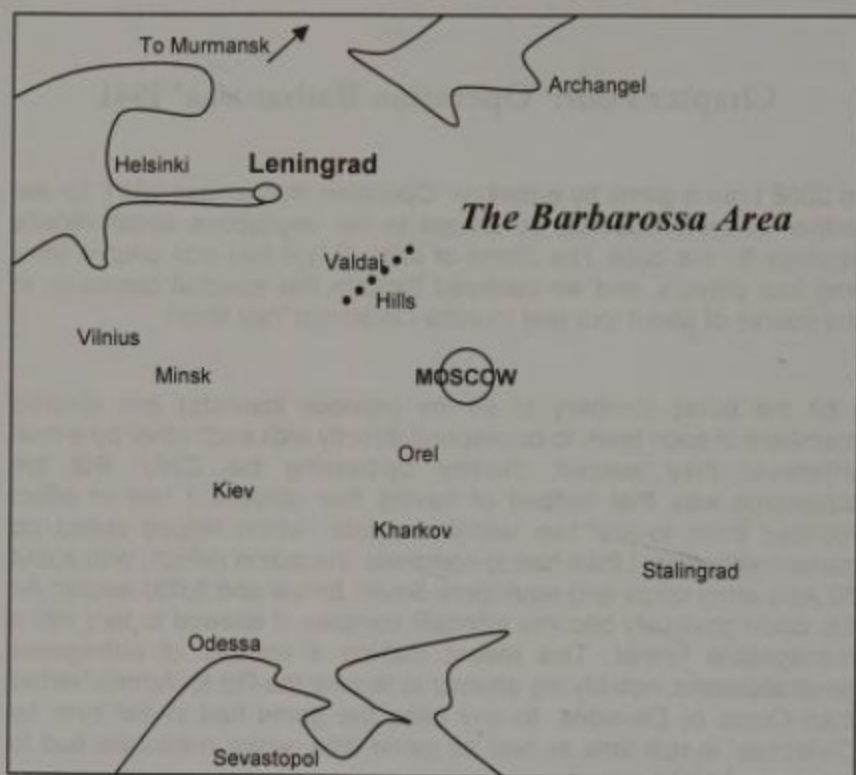


Figure 3 The Western Areas of the USSR

Here are the initial briefings that I gave to players in my game:-

GERMAN BRIEFING

Date

For you the game starts on 20 April '41, when I want you to finalise your plans for H-hour on 22 June.

Appointments *(Change these for YOUR game, obviously!)*

The two German players represent the Fuhrer, Adolf Hitler and Field Marshal Walther von Brauchitsch, the head of OKH (See Wikipedia for a rather fascinating insight into his personal relations with Hitler). In

'Barbarossa' von Brauchitsch is essentially the top staff officer concerned with planning.

The Briefing for the Fuhrer is as follows:-

Dear Adolf,

The date today is 20 April 1941. Happy Birthday! You have instructed all your staff to prepare 'Operation Barbarossa' - the invasion and destruction of the Soviet Union - to commence on 22 June. Your government is organised as follows:-

Structure of the German High Command

Supreme Command for all political, ministerial and military affairs is exercised by yourself, as the Fuhrer, Reich Chancellor, Minister of War and CiC of the armed forces.

As Reich Chancellor you oversee (a) the political ministries (incl. Foreign Affairs, Transport, Propaganda &c &c); (b) the state functionaries (largely concerned with the economy), and (c) the party offices, which include the SS (under Himmler).

As CiC *Wehrmacht* your four immediate subordinates who are concerned with military operations are General Keitel, Chief of Staff of OKW; General von Brauchitsch, CiC of OKH; Marshal Goering, CiC of OKL (ie the *Luftwaffe*), and Grand Adml Raeder, CiC of OKM (ie the *Kriegsmarine*). Of these the first (OKW) is not concerned with the Eastern Front. Therefore in effect the lead organisation for 'Barbarossa' is OKH.

Von Brauchitsch tells you that as far as OKH can judge, the Axis Order of Battle for the start of Operation 'Barbarossa' will be as follows, although it is now your prerogative (in consultation with him) to re-allocate the available forces to different Army Groups, if you wish:-

Provisional Axis Order of Battle for 'Barbarossa' on 22 June '41

Provisionally allocated to the 'Southern Front' (ie the most northerly of all!)

Finnish South East Army, incl. II and IV Rifle Corps

Finnish Army of Karelia, incl. VI and VII Rifle Corps

Independent German Infantry Corps (4 x Inf Divs)

German Army of Norway, incl. Mountain Corps, XXXVI Infantry Corps and III Finnish Corps

Provisionally allocated to Army Group North (subject to alteration in final planning)

Panzer Group Four: XLI Mot Corps, incl. 1 and 6 Pz Divs

LVI Mot Corps, incl. 8 Pz Div and 3 SS Mot Div

16th Army: X Inf Corps

XXVIII Inf Corps

II Inf Corps:

18th Army: XXVI Inf Corps

XXXVIII Inf Corps

I Inf Corps:

Independent Inf Corps

In OKH Reserve: L Infantry Corps, incl. 4 SS Mot Div

(Spearhead total = 3 x Pz Divs + 2 x SS Mot Divs)

Provisionally allocated to Army Group Centre (subject to alteration in final planning)

Panzer Group Two: XII Inf Corps:

XLVI Mot Corps: incl. 10 Pz Div and 2 SS Pz Div

XLVII Mot Corps: incl. 17 and 18 Pz Divs

XXIV Mot Corps: incl. 3 and 4 Pz Divs and 1 Cav Div

Panzer Group Three:

XXXIX Mot Corps: incl. 7 and 20 Pz Divs

LVII Mot Corps: incl. 12 and 19 Pz Divs

V Inf Corps

VI Inf Corps

4th Army: VII Inf Corps

XIII Inf Corps

IX Inf Corps

LXIII Inf Corps

9th Army: VIII Inf Corps

XX Inf Corps

LXII Inf Corps

LIII Inf Corps

In OKH Reserve: XXXV Infantry Corps and XLII Infantry Corps

(Spearhead total = 10 x Pz Divs and 1 Cav Div)

Provisionally allocated to Army Group South (subject to alteration in final planning)

Panzer Group One: XXIX Inf Corps:

XIV Mot Corps: incl. 9 and 16 Pz Divs and 5 SS Pz Div

III Mot Corps: incl. 14 Pz Div

XLVIII Mot Corps: incl. 11 Pz Div

Independent Mot Corps: incl. 13 Pz Div and 1 SS Pz Div

6th Army: XVII Inf Corps:

XLIV Inf Corps:

LV Inf Corps:

11th Army: XI Inf Corps:

XXX Inf Corps:

LIV Inf Corps:

Rumanian Mountain Corps:

17th Army: IV Inf Corps:

LII Inf Corps:

XLIX Mountain Corps:

(Spearhead total = 7 x Pz Divs and 2 x SS Mot Divs)

In OKH Reserve: XXXIV Infantry Corps (incl. 4 Mountain Div) and LI Infantry Corps

Rumanian Troops provisionally allocated to the area behind Army Group South:

Rumanian 3rd Army: Mountain Div and Cav Div

Rumanian 4th Army: 5 x Inf Divs

(Spearhead total = 1 x Cav Div)

Travelling from the Balkans, in OKH reserve:

2nd Army: incl. 2 and 5 Pz Divs & 10 x Inf Divs.

(Spearhead total = 2 x Pz Divs)

The Luftwaffe: total 2,836 aircraft

965 single engine fighters (Mostly Me 109)

102 two-engine fighters (Me 110)

465 dive bombers / ground attack (Mostly Ju87)

952 bombers (Several different types)

61 recce (Several different types)

292 Ju 52 'Iron Annie' tri-motor transport planes, which can carry up to 18 troops each.

- You also have at least a battalion of *Fallschirmjaeger* available, under *Luftwaffe* command. These will need 40 x Ju 52. By my calculation this leaves a total lift of 4,536 air landing troops as well as the paras - although in a normal operation of two lifts in a day you could expect to carry the best part of 10,000 men in a day (but probably rather less if you remember their 'heavy' equipment).

You can add 292 x DFS 230 gliders to them, which carry 8 troops each - ie a total extra 2,336 men (but they can't fly twice!)..

Please allocate all these forces to Army Group areas for 22 June (although by their nature they can usually later be switched relatively quickly from one AG area to another).

The Kriegsmarine

Baltic Fleet: Alas 'Scharnhorst' and 'Gneisenau' are rather stuck in Brest at present; but the pocket battleships 'Lutzow' and 'Scheer' might well be made ready for the task you have in mind (= bombarding Leningrad). 'Bismarck' is going to Bergen and the wide Atlantic.

—

However, as well as all this, von Brauchitsch says that he now needs you to enter discussions with him to finalise the master plan for 'Operation Barbarossa'. From the above OBs you will see that the bulk of the panzers have provisionally been allocated to AG Centre - but maybe the two of you would like to change that round? (or maybe other things?). NOW is the time to make your final decisions for your deployments and master plan.

Intelligence

The Red Army and Air Force in the frontier regions are big and relatively modern - but our assessment is that they will crumble almost instantly if we successfully achieve SURPRISE at each of the political, strategic, operational and tactical levels.

(Please refer to any reputable reference work. As GHU I confess that Soviet deployments on 22 June will be exactly the same in the game as they were in reality. Unlike your own!)

The Initial German Response in the game was to redeploy some - but not all - of the troops from Army Group South to Army Group Centre, and to convert one mountain division into an airborne division. In summary this redeployment was as follows:

Directive No. 21 "Northern Strategy" (= the real plan in 1941)	(= the players' new plan, 2008)
<i>Panzer and Cavalry Divs:</i>	
AG North: 3 x Pz Divs	8 x Pz Divs
AG Centre: 10 x Pz Divs and 1 Cav Div	10 x Pz Divs and 1 Cav Div
AG South: 7 x Pz Divs	2 x Pz Divs
and Balkans en route: 2 x Pz Divs	and Balkans 2 Pz Divs en route to AG South
<i>Infantry Corps:</i>	
Finland/Norway: 8	9
AG North: 7 + 1 OKH Reserve	10 + 1 OKH reserve
AG Centre: 11 + 2 OKH Reserve	11 + 5 OKH Reserve
AG South; 11 + 2 OKH Reserve	4 + 2 OKH Reserve
Enroute from Balkans: 3	Send all 3 to AG South
Rumanians behind AG South: 2	Rumanians behind AG South: 2

Our players also entertained a number of weird ideas that eventually proved to be abortive, such as the capture of Murmansk overland from Norway, or the capture of the railway between Smolensk and Moscow by airborne forces accompanied by airborne tanks. Oh yes, and Hitler's personal astrologer persuaded him that it should be a priority to secure the Ark of the Covenant...

Reinforcements to be expected:

For 1 July:-

2 x German Inf Divs

1 x Slovakian Inf Div (= making up the current Brigade Pifousek to divisional strength)

Hungarian mixed-arms 'Carpathian Corps' (3 Divs)

For 1 August:-

1 x Slovakian Inf Div

Spanish Inf 'Blue Division'

For 1 September:-

To be sent to Army Group CENTRE:

2 x German Inf Divs

To be sent to Kiev area (AG SOUTH):

2 x Rumanian Inf Divs

1 x Italian Inf Div [ie NOT 3 x Divs as expected*]

1 x Slovakian Inf Div

For 1 October:-

1 x German Mountain Div

1 x Italian Mot.Div*

1 x Rumanian Cav Div

3 x Rumanian Inf Divs

For 1 November:-

2 x Rumanian Inf Divs

* Note that our dear friend Benito regrets that pressing crises in North and East Africa prevent him from sending more than one Mot.Div and 1 Inf Div for service in Russia at this time. However he points out that his enormous garrisons in Yugoslavia and Greece have released a vast German force from the Balkans to AG South.

The OKH view of Logistics

The GHU can show you the following document, but with the warning that he does NOT want you to start allocating specific numbers of vehicles to specific formations or operations. This is for general background information only:-

OKH Quartermaster Staff Study Logistics of Mixed Arms Forces in the Offensive

The main difficulty for offensive operations in Russia is that our mechanised forces (including mechanised infantry), and their logistics, have a far greater speed and range than our infantry armies.

There is no problem if a railway link can be kept open to the front line; but in present circumstances this is unlikely to be possible on most occasions. We must assume that there will normally be a gap of many kilometres - sometimes many hundreds of kilometres - between the railhead and the front line troops.

In a Panzer Group, let us assume that each Division has 2,500 motor vehicles at its disposal, which will be divided into an 'A' echelon (accompanying the fighting troops & carrying supplies for ready use) and a 'B' echelon (ferrying reserve supplies from the railhead to the fighting troops, and evacuating wounded &c on the return journey). The proportion of vehicles allocated to each echelon will vary according to (a) the type of battle in prospect (ie either largely unopposed motoring or a formal set piece battle with a particularly high expenditure of supplies), and (b) the distance from the railhead to the front line.

- In a typical operation with largely unopposed motoring the configuration might be:

i) 100 km from the railhead: 1,500 vehicles in 'A' echelon; 1,000 vehicles in 'B' echelon

ii) 300 km from the railhead (ie from our frontier to Riga in present operations): 500 vehicles in 'A' echelon; 2,000 vehicles in 'B' echelon

- In a typical operation with a formal set piece battle:

i) 100 km from the railhead: 750 vehicles in 'A' echelon; 1,750 vehicles in 'B' echelon

ii) 300 km from the railhead: 0 vehicles in 'A' echelon, but with dumps in the front line; 2,500 vehicles in 'B' echelon.

Note that the creation of dumps requires both Time and Immobility of the front.

Even with these arrangements, mechanised forces are still liable to periods of immobility while 'B' echelons catch up, vehicles are maintained &c.

In the case of infantry armies, the transport includes a large horse-drawn element. Let us assume 1,000 motor vehicles and 1,500 horse-drawn wagons per Division. This means that the same proportion of vehicles might be allocated to each echelon as in the notional arrangements for mechanised forces; but with much shorter distances from the railhead - ie 50 and 150 km respectively. To go much further than 150 km - and certainly more than 300 km - in a single bound will probably be impossible without a halt for stockpiling.

- General von Paulus, O.Q.

SOVIET BRIEFING - as at 24 June 1941, which is the Soviet starting point

Appointments: (*Change these for YOUR game, obviously!*)

Uncle Joe Stalin (*Simon Bracegirdle*), the universal benefactor of the world-wide Proletariat, seems to have been in a strange and unexplained trance since 22 June. But he has now happily recovered from it and is fighting fit to issue whatever orders you all may think are necessary.

Marshal Simon Timoshenko (*Tim Cockitt*), is the head of STAVKA. He is in essence the 'Chief of Staff' to Stalin for all military matters. His role is to advise Uncle Joe and consult with him on strategy and tactics, deployments, future policy &c &c. I hope they will collaborate together in a determinedly constructive, forward-looking & patriotic spirit.

Structure of the Soviet High Command

Command for all political and ministerial affairs [incl. Foreign Affairs] is exercised by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Praesidium of the Soviet Union; and for military affairs by the State Committee for Defence.

In all the above cases, that means Comrade J Stalin, and no one else. However, the Supreme Command of military affairs ('STAVKA') is run by Marshal Timoshenko. He is responsible for day by day supervision of the Ministry of Defence; the Red Army General

Staff, the Navy &c &c. The Air Force (along with the artillery) is a subordinate branch of the Red Army.

Soviet Order of Battle on 22 June '41

Northern Front (Based in Leningrad) - Popov

7th Army (2 Mech Bdes and 6 x Rifle Divs)

14th Army (1 Mech Bde and 6 x Rifle Divs)

23rd Army, incl. X Mech Corps and XIX, L and LXX Rifle Corps

North-West Front (in the Baltic area) - Kuznetsov

8th Army, incl. XII and I Mech Corps and X and XI Rifle Corps

11th Army, incl. III and XVIII Mech Corps and XVI and XXIX Rifle Corps

27th Army, incl. XXII, XXIV and LXI Rifle Corps

Southern Front (Based in Odessa) - Tyulenev

9th Army, incl. II and XVIII Mech Corps, II Cav Corps and XIV, XLVIII and XXXV Rifle Corps

18th Army, incl. XVI Mech Corps and XVII and IX Rifle Corps

Western Front (on the Western frontier)

3rd Army, incl. XI Mech Corps and IV Rifle Corps

4th Army, incl. XIV Mech Corps and XXVIII Rifle Corps

10th Army, incl. VI and XIII Mech Corps, VI Cav Corps and V and I Rifle Corps

Front Troops: XVIII and XX Mech Corps, IV Airborne Corps and II, XXI, XLVII and XL Rifle Corps

South-West Front (Based in Kiev) - Kirponos

5th Army, incl. XV and XXVII Rifle Corps

6th Army, incl. III Cav Corps and VI Rifle Corps

12th Army, incl. XIII Mountain and XLIV Rifle Corps

26th Army, incl. IV Cav Corps and VIII Rifle Corps

SW Front Troops: IX, XXIV and XIX Mech Corps and XXXI, XXXVI, XXXVII and LXXXVII Rifle Corps

Reserves

13th Army: HQ only (at Mogilev)

15th Army: HQ only (at Birobidzhan = where Biros come from...)

16th Army: V Mech Corps only (at Stalingrad)

17th Army: HQ only (in Mongolia)

19th Army: XXIII and XXVI Mech Corps and XXXIV and XXV Rifle Corps (in Siberia)

20th Army: VII Mech Corps and LXI and LXIX Rifle Corps (at Orel)

21st Army: XXV Mech Corps and LXIII and LXVI Rifle Corps (at Chernigov-Konitop)

22nd Army: LI and LXII Rifle Corps (at Velikiye Luki)

24th Army: LII and LIII Rifle Corps (in Siberia)

28th Army: XXX, XXXII and XXXIII Rifle Corps (at Archangel)

The Navy ON 24 June

Baltic Fleet - Tributs

12" Battleships: Oktyabrskaya Revolutsia (Completed 1914): In Leningrad

Marat (Completed 1915): at Kronstadt

(8" floating battery) Petropavlosk (ex German Lutzow!): in Leningrad

7.1" Cruisers: Kirov (Completed 1939): in Leningrad

Voroshilov (Completed 1940): in Leningrad

Maksim Gorky (Completed 1940): in Leningrad

Historic (!) 5.1" Cruiser: Aurora (Completed 1902): In Leningrad

5.1" 'Flotilla Leaders' (ie big destroyers, built '36-40): Leningrad: in, er, Leningrad

Minsk: in Leningrad

10 x Destroyers and numerous flotilla

Black Sea Fleet - Octiabrsky

12" Battleship: Sevastopol (Completed 1914): In, er, Sevastopol

7.1" Cruisers: Krasny Kavkaz (Completed 1932) at Sevastopol

Molotov (Completed 1941): at Sevastopol

5.1" Cruisers: Chervonaya Ukraina (Completed 1927) at Sevastopol

Krasny Krim (Completed 1928) at Sevastopol

Komintern (Completed 1905) at Odessa

5.1" 'Flotilla Leaders' (ie big destroyers, built '36-40): Kharkov: at Sevastopol

Moskva: in Odessa

Tashkent: in Odessa

10 x Destroyers + numerous flotilla

Northern Fleet - Golovko

12 x Destroyers + numerous flotilla

(Pacific Fleet - Yumashev)

The Red Air Force on 21 June (ie before the German attack) was as follows - *but that is not the same as telling you what's left by the end of 24 June:-*

Total 5,962 aircraft, including

Fighters 2,287

Ground attack 771

Bombers 1,785

Transport 845

Trainers 274

Initial Report to Stalin (copied to Timoshenko):

Dear Comrade Joe,

It is now late on 24 June 1941 and you appear to have just emerged from some sort of coma that started early on 22 June. Comrade Beria says he thinks you must have been poisoned by disaffected army officers, and it is only fortunate that you have now fully recovered. The alternative outcome would have been utterly disastrous to the workers and people of the USSR!

This plot is very surprising since, as you know, for the past few years Comrade Beria has been assiduously removing disaffected elements, crypto-Czarists, Trotskyites and Kulak fellow-travellers from the officer corps. He is now starting on a renewed offensive against such scum.

He also tells you that the plot is actually much wider and deeper than merely an assassination attempt against yourself, since it appears that almost all of the front line army on our western border has deserted *en masse*. Worse still, the leaders of this plot appear to have poured poison into the ears of your very good friend and all-round cuddly human being, Herr Hitler. Apparently he has been very badly mis-informed by our traitors about the true situation in the USSR, so he has been persuaded to cross our border to restore order - since our army clearly can't, in its present state of mutiny - and capture the evil agitators. Surely good old Adolf will hand them over to us any moment now, and then retreat back across our borders. You should have a word with him to clear up any misunderstanding.

Comrade Timoshenko, at STAVKA, reports that unfortunately the military situation is still very unclear, but he hopes to have a full report for you in the next few hours. I am afraid you will have to wait for that before you can hope to issue orders to the part of the army that still remains loyal.

A few hours later:

Comrade Marshal Timoshenko now tells Uncle Joe that by the end of 24 June a large number of front line units (especially large parts of the Red Air Force) have been destroyed by a truly vile fascist assault. Alas, precise details of exactly which parts have been destroyed, and which have not, have so far been impossible to establish. The Marshal hopes to consolidate a full and precise report very soon.

To make his point even more clear, the Marshal also regrets to report that his best intelligence tells him that the Heroic Soviet Union HAS indeed in fact been betrayed by the mad jackal warlord Herr Hitler, who without question began a war of naked aggression against us on 22 June by unprovoked and massed surprise attacks against the entire length of our western borders. There was in fact NO mutiny or desertion or disaffection among our brave front line army: It was simply overrun by a disgusting fascist betrayal of trust in overwhelming force. But then, what can you expect from a fascist pig but a grunt?

Comrade Molotov (*Minister of Foreign Affairs*) reports that all diplomatic attempts (*even over his famous cocktails!*) to contact the Germans have been met by sharp rebuttals and insulting condemnations of our entire philosophy, way of life, racial origins and personal hygiene. (*They even said that his cocktails smelled of petrol!*)

In these circumstances Marshal Timoshenko very strongly recommends that we must immediately abandon any attempts to once again purge the officer corps of 'traitors'. We VERY urgently need absolutely all the trained and well educated officers that we can possibly find - especially in the more senior ranks, and particularly in

the fields of (a) doctrinal development and (b) the command of tank forces. Such men currently seem to be in desperately short supply (*oddly, no one can be entirely sure exactly why!*). We must therefore (**IMPERATIVELY!**) now all work together to close ranks and resist the threat of collective extinction that we now face from unprovoked external aggression. We must now abandon all internal recriminations and pull together. It may perhaps help if we can name this conflict as 'The Great Patriotic War', in order to unify the Nation, the Workers, the Labourers and the entire Proletariat behind our collective war effort? The concrete criteria for the inevitable Bolshevik global victory in our pre-ordained communist struggle against capitalism, unrestrained profiteering, hyena-like gangsterism and the cult of personality **demand absolutely nothing less!**

(I could go on - but I find that Soviet literature tends to use 50 words to make any particular point wherever 5 would be more than enough. For game purposes in future I intend to use no more than three).

Comrade Beria, however, is still suggesting that the Army is obviously officered by 120% traitors who all deserve to be shot. Starting with Timoshenko himself.

Uncle Joe is thus faced with a dilemma. Does he now want to believe his old friend Beria or the proto-Czarist Timoshenko? (*Look at Wikipedia for both, if you want to know more...*)

- GHU

To all this the Soviet High Command issued the following first reaction:

1) *Scorched Earth Policy*: Standing Orders To Civil & Military Authorities In Front Sectors Within 100km east of the Western border of the Soviet Union, unless specific contradictory orders received:

- All citizens, FOOD stores, crops and items of economic and military value - **ESPECIALLY FUEL** to be evacuated east.
- All horses to be collected up with a view to creating Cossack style raiding forces
- All crops, items of economic or military benefit and towns which cannot be evacuated are to be destroyed.
- Maximum discomfort to be caused to invaders. River bridges to be destroyed, booby traps left, signposts removed, etc. Lots of roadblocks ... to disrupt wheeled and tracked transport

- The railways to be torn up in the areas in front of the enemy advance - rails to be retrieved where possible ... otherwise key sections can be heated & bent.

2) *Industrial Relocation and Conversion:* A programme for the relocation of key industries for the economic and military well being of the nation to the Urals, Siberia and other Eastern Republics to be instituted. Non essential industries to be converted to military production as soon as possible

3) *Defend Moscow:* Engineers and People's Volunteers to be engaged in fortifying the Moscow perimeter.

Begin plans for fortifying other key towns / cities - at present these include Leningrad, Riga, Smolensk, Bryansk, Tula, Kharkov, Kiev, Dnepropetrovsk, Rostov, Kallinin

4) *Stalin line:* Investigate immediately whether there is time to strengthen and defend this line anywhere on its length.

5) *Mobilise all reserves* and institute an accelerated programme of conscription.

6) *Diplomacy:*

- GB and USA: Approach to say that we now have common war aims. Seek an alliance. Make request any military and materiel help.
- Finland: Warn of consequences of failure to maintain neutrality.
- Bulgaria: Remind them of close relationship. Seek assurance of neutrality and promise them military assistance if they should be threatened by Axis states.

7) *Propaganda and Internal Moral:*

- Launch propaganda offensive against invading German troops.
- Internal information campaign to rally population behind the defence of the Motherland, and extol the virtues of Comrade Stalin as the Commander In Chief

- Internal security to crack down on unpatriotic behaviour. NKVD to ensure morale remains high in military units.

8) *A campaign of partisan warfare* is to be instituted and encouraged in areas behind enemy lines.

Troop Deployments

Northern Front

7th Army: defence Leningrad

14th Army: Finish border

23rd Army: Riga

NorthWest Front

Any survivors to regroup at Riga

Southern Front

9th Army: hold Bug line

18th Army: withdraw towards Dnepropetrovsk

Western Front

Any survivors to regroup at Minsk

South West Front

Any survivors withdraw towards first Zhitomir and then Kiev

RESERVES

13th Army HQ from Mogilev to Smolensk

15th Army HQ from Birograd to Moscow

16th Army: STAY in Stalingrad = V Mech Corps only (at Stalingrad)

17th Army: STAY in Mongolia = HQ only (in Mongolia)

19th Army: STAY in Siberia = XXIII and XXVI Mech Corps + XXXIV and XXV Rifle Corps (in Siberia)

20th Army VII Mech Corps from Orel to Moscow (but what of LXI and LXIX Rifle Corps?)

21st Army from Chernigov-Konitop to the Dnepr river line

22nd army from Velikiye Luki to Vitebsk

24th Army orders unchanged = 'stay in Siberia'

28th Army XXX and XXXII Rifle Corps from Archangel to Moscow

SOVIET Reinforcements to be expected:

Mobilisation as at 14 July: The million reservists being recalled (as individuals) to mobilisation centres in all major towns have now all arrived and are being allocated to new Rifle Corps and Mechanised Corps according to the availability of equipment (which is in short supply). Eventually these will be formed into Armies!

We estimate that the following formations will be able to take the field as follows:-

<i>Place & Date</i>	<i>Type: Mech. Corps</i>	<i>Rifle Corps</i>
Leningrad 1 Sept	1	3
Smolensk* 1 Sept	-	1
Moscow 1 Sept	2	5
Sverdlovsk 1 Oct	-	2
Kazan 1 Oct	-	1
Voronezh 1 Sept	-	1
Saratov 1 Oct	1	2
Kiev* 1 Nov	1	3
Dnepropetrovsk 1 Sept	-	2
Sevastopol 1 Nov	1	1
Rostov 1 Nov	-	2
Stalingrad 1 Sept	-	3
Tblisi 1 Oct	-	2

** In the event these mobilisation centres were overrun by the enemy before they could produce the formations intended.*

- Secondly we have started to recruit fresh new soldiers (two million?) who will be incorporated alongside the reservists into the new formations as mentioned above.

What Happened in the Game?

The German players opted to make their major efforts against Leningrad and Moscow; but not nearly as much against economic targets in the Ukraine (let alone the Caucasus) as they had gone for in the real campaign of 1941. In the game they could therefore concentrate more forces against Leningrad and Moscow, and push forward towards them faster. However, in the event they were distracted from this clear objective by their local success towards Odessa, which sucked in more of their forces than they had originally designed. "No plan survives first contact with the enemy", eh?

In the game our 'Hitler' also wanted his troops to 'be nice to the Russians'; but the GHU took the view that after eight years of Nazi propaganda the troops would not be inclined to follow such an idea - especially since they were not being sent into the Ukraine, where they might have been welcomed as 'liberators' by the local populace. We can speculate that if the whole campaign had been designed to liberate the Ukraine from the Bolschevik government in Moscow, things might have turned out differently: but in the event this was not the case.

By the time of the autumn rains the Germans and their allies had managed to capture Leningrad - but they had failed to capture Moscow. I take this to mean almost as little decisive success as they had enjoyed in the real thing.

Chapter Five - Suvarov in Alsace, 1799

This game depended very largely upon access to the great Cassini *Carte de France (Nord)*, which was drawn in the 1770s to a very high level of accuracy. (40) I am particularly grateful to Richard Madder for bringing it to my attention, and basing his 'Soissons 1814' game upon it, which in turn inspired my 'Alsace' game, that was played over the winter of 2003-4. However, if you do not have access to the Cassini map, the modern French ordnance (IGN) maps are usually almost identical (give or take better contour lines, plus a few railways, motorways and high rise flats!).

The fictitious scenario was based upon the idea that if Suvarov had managed to bring a large army across the Alps, and had succeeded in getting it across the Rhine into Alsace, an interesting campaign might have resulted, including a number of sieges. Sketches of all the key fortresses are conveniently provided in the Cassini map. In the current chapter I will set out the scenario and details of play for the game.

The briefing initially given to players was as follows. For the 'vital statistics' of movement rates around the theatre of war I used my findings from the 1814 campaign, as presented in Appendix IV, below.

The Vosges Campaign of 1799

The most reputable history books will tell you that Suvarov's Swiss campaign of 1799 - which of course followed his brilliantly successful Italian campaign - ended in failure and ignominy. The history books, however (and it grieves me to admit that this includes even those written by my good friend Professor Christopher Duffy) have been lying through their teeth for all of the past 204 years. In fact my recent researches in hitherto classified Kremlin archives have revealed that Suvarov was triumphantly victorious in Switzerland, sending Massena back to St Petersburg in chains, and erupting in October onto the middle Rhine in a surprise manoeuvre that caught out not only the French, but also his own Austrian allies and 'military advisors'. What happened next is a matter of archival fact, but I will not reveal it to you, my dear friends, until you have had a chance to play out the possible outcomes in a Madder-the-Dagger-style operational wargame (Select which side you would prefer and send me an amusing paragraph laying claim to it). The game starts at the end of 10 October 1799.

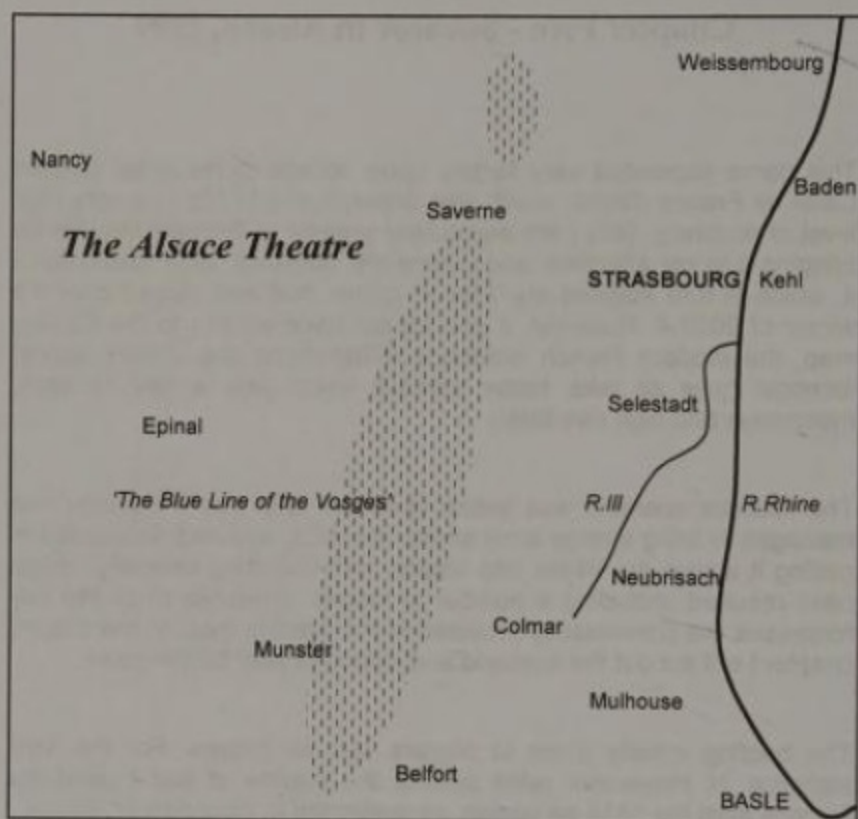


Figure 4 Alsace and its Fortresses

The Seat of the War

The Rhine is one of the greatest rivers in Europe, very wide, fast flowing and - were it not for the many low-lying islands dotted along its length - difficult to bridge with a pontoon train. There are very few permanent bridges across it, as a glance at *La Famille Cassini's* excellent map will show (actually there is only one in our immediate area = at Strasbourg). Most of the crossings are effected by ferry, and even then the boatman is liable to be overwhelmed by the sheer force of the current, which drains directly from the highest Alps.

On the left bank of the river lies the fertile province of Alsace, which was taken from Austria barely a century ago and which that power now demands back in restitution for the loss of Belgium. Alsace comes in two morphological layers. The first, extending roughly 20 kilometres inland from the river, is a delightful and largely flat agricultural plain which is remarkable among all the provinces of France for its highly-developed network of wide modern canals (see eg the 'Carrefour' just NE of Mulhausen - but compare the apparently

pointless 2 mile stretch at Saverne!). Westwards from that, however, the ground slopes steeply upwards to the high crest of the Vosges - a 'blue line' of beetling crags and vertiginous forests which at places exceeds an altitude of 1,000 metres. The Vosges is a fearsome barrier running parallel to the Rhine, which may be crossed at only a few well-defined passes. Further to the West the hills descend to the far less dramatic plains of the Moselle.

Alsace boasts a balanced mix of cultures, including cattle, sheep, cabbages (for *Sauerkraut*), hops, wheat and barley; but it is best known for its fine white wines and its pungently smoked cuts of pork. Equitation is widely followed and there is a plentiful supply of sturdy horses from the area itself as well as from both the right bank of the Rhine and from the broad plains to the West of the Vosges. There are centres of industry (textiles, brewing, leatherwork, metallurgy and armaments) in a few cities such as Mulhausen, Belfort, Colmar and especially Strasbourg. Historically, however, the main industry in this area has been the art of war, since this has been a major point of entry into France for all varieties of teutonic army. It was the ancient Roman *Limes* and the base for the doomed expedition of Varrus into *Germania*. After the Romans departed, Alsace continued to be heavily fortified, and in the 17th century it received the attentions of Marshal Vauban on a scale that was second only to those he bestowed upon the Belgium frontier. NeuBrisach itself was one of his most spectacular and perfect works, even though Strasbourg is much bigger and the defences of the Vosges defiles more scenic. All these fortresses have been much repaired and reinforced since the present wars started in 1792.

The local population is pretty much neutral, half-German, and exhausted by the seven years of war it has already suffered...

The Fall of NeuBrisach

It was on the night of 9 October 1799 (ie 29 September in Russia, or 17 *Vendemiaire*, Year VIII in France) that the ace Freiburg spy, count Erich von Stalheim, brought his clandestine liaison with the wife of the mayor of NeuBrisach to a triumphant conclusion. Besotted and breathless, she delivered to him all the passwords and keys to the town, which she had stolen from her husband's *cabinet de travail*. At once the German agent went to work and before dawn a waiting file of Austrian grenadiers had taken control of the gatehouse, and a flying bridge had been thrown across the Rhine from Vieux Brisach to the customs house on the far side. Across this bridge immediately marched the vanguard of Suvarov's army, fresh from its triumphs in Switzerland, and newly reinforced by Essen's force from the Western Baltic. The garrison was captured eating its breakfast, with all its guns and stores intact. The standards of Czar Paul I and Emperor Francis II were raised over the fortress, and the gaunt, wizened but fiery Russian commander read a stirring proclamation calling on all the citizens of Alsace to recognise Austrian sovereignty, since the whole province

was hereby annexed. He also called upon all non-Alsatian French citizens to reject the illegal Revolutionary junta and recognise the much-wronged Bourbon monarchy, and he announced his own personal intention of marching on Paris at once to reinstate the latter.

By dusk on 10 October 1799 the news of this thunderbolt had reached General Moreau, the commander of the French Army of the Rhine, based in Strasbourg. He alerted his garrisons all over Alsace, and wrote a hasty letter to Paris promising to throw the invader back into the Rhine, or to die in the attempt. Meanwhile the American consul sent a note to his own government estimating the forces in presence as follows:-

Austro-Russian army of Field Marshal Prince Suvarov Italiiski: 60,000 men and 100 guns, based in NeuBrisach. Note that the Russian troops rely on Austrian staff officers and maps. The army chief of staff is the Austrian General Chasteler:-

Prince Bagration's Vanguard Division – 8,000 all arms

Korsakov's Division – 8,000 infantry and artillery

Rosenberg's Division – 8,000 infantry and artillery

Essen's Division – 8,000 infantry and artillery

Melas's Division (Austrian) – 8,000 infantry and artillery

Hotze's Division (Austrian) - 8,000 infantry and artillery

Kray's Division (Austrian) - 6,000 infantry only

Grand Prince Constantine's Russian Cavalry Reserve – 4,000 and horse artillery

Denisov – 5 regiments of Cossacks (numbers unknowable – don't even ask!)

NeuBrisach garrison = 2,000 Freiburg Guardsmen and Baden *Landwehr* and 30 guns.

French Army of the Rhine, General Moreau: 54,000 men and 230 guns based in Strasbourg:-

Soult's Vanguard Division – 7,000 all arms

Lecourbe's Division – 10,000 infantry and artillery battery

Mortier's Division – 10,000 infantry and artillery battery

Lorge's Division – 10,000 infantry and artillery battery

Molitor's Cavalry Brigade – 2,000 *chasseurs a cheval* and horse artillery

Dombrowski (Polish Emigres) – 1,000 lancers

Garrisons (ie in fortresses of the Vauban chain):-

Strasbourg: 5,000 and 60 guns (Note that the bridgehead of Kehl is in Austrian hands)

Phalsbourg: 2,000 and 30 guns

Selestat: 2,000 and 30 guns

Le Bonhomme: 1,000 and 10 guns

Thann: 2,000 and 30 guns

Belfort: 2,000 and 30 guns

Concurrent Operations

On 10 October there are military operations in progress in the following theatres:-

NORTH HOLLAND: (English) Duke of York vs (French) General Brune: Brune is winning.

RHINELAND: (Austrian) Archduke Charles vs (French) Gen. Jourdan: Temporary Stalemate.

SWITZERLAND: (Austrian) General Ott vs (French) General Lefebvre: Stalemate.

MARITIME ALPS: (Austrian) General Bellegarde vs (French) General Moncey: Stalemate.

EGYPT: (English) Admiral Sir Sidney Smith vs (French) General Bonaparte: Smith is winning.

Political Authorities

Field Marshal Prince Suvarov currently enjoys the full confidence of the omnipotent Tsar in St Petersburg, who tends to be either '100% for' or '100% against' individuals in his service.

All Austrian commanders take their orders direct from the Aulic Council (*Hofkriegsrath*) in Vienna, which implies – although it is never quite spelled out – that any orders from non-Austrian officers (eg Suvarov) are only 'advisory'.

All independent French commanders (eg Moreau) take their orders from the Directory (ie the Paris government). The Directory is shaky and unpopular, especially with the army, but heck – what government isn't?

How to Capture Fortresses

- i) First see what sort of fortress it is. If it has a 'proper' garrison as listed in the American consul's initial briefing, then it's a proper fortress and may take (plus or minus) a month to take by formal siege, and longer rather than shorter if you have only field guns - the fortress is liable to have a heavier weight of shot than you do. If it's not a 'proper' fortress it will be a medieval town with ancient walls and a rather decrepit local town guard - National Guardsmen or equivalent. You should be able to take that in anything between a day and a week, regardless of what sort of guns you've got.
- ii) The recommended approach to a 'proper' fortress is to try a *coup de main*, preferably starting from a long distance away (best to use cavalry for a faster approach march?), so the garrison doesn't twig that you're after them, until you've actually arrived. Remember that the gates of an un-warned fortress are likely to be open in the daytime but not at night. If that doesn't work, your *coup de main* party should cut off all traffic into and out of the fortress, while your main body arrives for a regular siege.
- iii) If the enemy has a field army loose, you may need a big covering force outside your siege lines, or you might have to dig fortifications to protect your siege from attack from the outside.
- iv) The techniques of a regular siege are many and complex; but in essence you need to dig trenches parallel to the front of the fortress you have selected for attack, and then dig zig zag (against enfilades) saps forward until you can make a new parallel - and so on. In each parallel you should build gun batteries: at first, while these are still distant from the fortress, they are designed to silence the guns of the defenders. But when your (third or fourth?) parallel has been established really close to the fortress, its guns can make a breach in the walls - into which, one dark night, your infantry can charge *en masse* to capture the place... (41)
- v) If all else fails, Count Erich von Stalheim remains at your service to subvert the fortress, and he's the best in the business (*GHU notes that in real life a very high proportion of fortresses were subverted, in one way or another, rather than taken by shot or shell*).

The main Map Sheets that we need to consult from the 'Cassini Nord' CD (*Showing the Vosges mountains, the river Rhine & the Alsace plain*):-

- 162 – Strasbourg (The city is important but is perhaps on our extreme Northern edge. Phalsbourg guards the Vosges passes inland.)
- 143 – Mirecourt (East side of this sheet may well be important to us)
- 163 – Colmar (Potentially a key seat of hostilities, with Selestat at North Centre and Colmar at South Centre of the sheet)
- 144 – Luxeuil (The East side may perhaps be vital!)
- 164 – Neuf Brisach (NeuBrisach in North Centre, Mulhausen in Centre Centre and Thann in Centre West: This is the key sheet for the start of hostilities)
- 145 – Vesoul (Probably too far SW, but Belfort is in the centre of sheet)
- 165 – Basle (Too far to our South, and in Switzerland!)

The March of the Game

I hope that we will be able to turn round two turns per week (eg Umpire Reports issued by the end of Friday Night and Players' Orders received by Sunday Lunchtime - and so on).

(But in Real Life, naturally, this routine was not always followed!)

Initial Briefing for Marshal Suvarov *(Played in my game by Andy Grainger)*

Now that you have bridged the Rhine and captured the well-supplied fortress of NeuBrisach, you may regard this place as your secure base. Your line of communication runs due East through Vieux-Brisach and ultimately to Vienna. No enemy have so far been encountered apart from the garrison troops who have been captured.

Your entire army will be assembled within 3 km. of NeuBrisach by dawn on 11 October, and you will then be free to manoeuvre as and how you wish. Your aim is to capture Paris, although I imagine that you will feel it is important to neutralise the French Army of the Rhine first!

Note that the Austrian troops in your OB are under your direct command just as much as your Russian troops. If General Chasteler, your CoS, wants to argue, I'm sure he will let you know in his own good time, when it will become a matter of negotiation between you, him and the *Hofskriegsrath* in Vienna. But unless and until that process actually changes the status of the Austrian contingents, they are under your direct command and so is Chasteler. Your symbiotic relationship (on this basis) has so far been spectacularly successful in both Italy and Switzerland!

Detailed OB of the Austro-Russian army of Field Marshal Prince Suvarov Italiiski, 60,000 men and 100 guns

Bagration's Vanguard – 6,500 Light Infantry, 1,000 Dragoons, 500 Hussars and 8 horse guns = All good veteran troops

Korsakov's Division – 8,000 infantry and artillery (12 field guns) = hardened mountain infantry

Rosenberg's Division – 8,000 infantry and artillery (12 field guns) = Mix of veterans and fresh drafts.

Essen's Division – 8,000 infantry and artillery (12 field guns) = Enthusiastic but poorly drilled

Melas's Division (Austrian) – 8,000 infantry and artillery (8 field guns) = All well drilled but veterans mixed with fresh drafts

Hotze's Division (Austrian) - 8,000 infantry and artillery (8 field guns) = Ditto

Kray's Division (Austrian) - 6,000 infantry only = Ditto

Grand Prince Constantine's Russian Cavalry Reserve – 3,000 Carabiniers, 1,000 *cheveau-legers* and 6 horse guns = Experienced horsemen but with questionable drill.

Denisov – 5 regiments of Cossacks (numbers unknowable. Don't even ask.) = Cossacks!*

NeuBrisach garrison: 2,000 Freiburg Guardsmen and Baden *Landwehr* and 30 fortress guns. = Not for use in manoeuvres in the open field

O'Reilly's Bridging Train (Austrian, under Chasteler's command) = has a few pontoons spare after bridging the Rhine

**Denisov tells you that his so-called 'Five regiments of Cossacks' are actually composed of five 'groups', 'parties', 'sub-clans' (or call them what you will) from the following tribes:-*

- i) Volga Cossacks
- ii) Platov's Don Cossacks
- iii) Kirov's Don Cossacks
- iv) Kalmuks
- v) Bashkirs

He's not too sure of numbers, but he thinks the total is somewhere around 4,000 horses and ponies, although of course quite a lot of those are for the women, children and baggage. Every single man, woman and child is, of course, an instinctive natural rider and judge of horseflesh, which is their currency. He is also sure that whereas the Cossacks like to fight with their 10 foot long spears, the Kalmuks use scimitars and slings (and prefer to fight on foot as 'mounted infantry') while the Bashkirs are the finest mounted bowmen since the time of Genghis Khan. All of them are very fine musicians and dancers, but their consumption of butter, for use as hair cream, sometimes appears excessive.

Briefing for General Moreau (*Played by Martin James in my game*)

Strasbourg is a rich and well supplied city, which is currently your main logistic base, with your logistic line of communication running due West through Nancy to Paris. Your aim is to destroy all enemy forces on the left bank of the Rhine.

Within the walls of Strasbourg at present are the Strasbourg garrison, Soult's Vanguard Division and Lecourbe's Division. Mortier's Division is at Colmar and Lorge's Division is at Mulhausen. Your cavalry is widely dispersed in billets for grazing, with Molitor's Brigade occupying all the farmland between Colmar and Strasbourg, and the Poles all the land between Colmar and Mulhouse. No reports of enemy movements have yet been received apart from the fact that NeuBrisach has been captured.

From the strategic point of view you are slightly outnumbered, but strong in training and artillery, whereas the enemy must now be totally exhausted after his two gruelling campaigns in dreadful terrain. And now it has started to rain on him, since he apparently wants to fight through the winter! It should not be difficult to hold him in place while your counter-attack is prepared. Nor should it be difficult to drive a political wedge between the Russians, who want to be either in Paris or back home in Russia, and the Austrians whose horizon extends no further than the blue line of the Vosges. Trust me – they will be at each other's throats before the end of November!

Detailed OB of the French Army of the Rhine, General Moreau:

54,000 men and 230 guns

Soult's Vanguard Division – 6,000 combined Voltigeurs, 1,000 Dragoons and 6 horse guns = a veteran elite force with long experience

Lecourbe's Division – 10,000 infantry and artillery battery (8 field guns) = a mix of veterans and fresh conscripts

Mortier's Division – 10,000 infantry and artillery battery (8 field guns) = Ditto

Lorge's Division – 7,000 line, 3,000 combined Grenadier infantry and artillery battery (8 field guns) = a mix of veterans (especially the grenadiers) and fresh conscripts

Molitor's Cavalry Brigade – 2,000 chasseurs à cheval and 6 horse guns = Excellent quality

Dombrowski (Polish Emigres) – 1,000 lancers and 6 horse guns = Fiercely enthusiastic!

Eblé's bridging train = Rather decrepit and out of practice, but could (just) bridge the Rhine

Garrisons (ie in fortresses of the Vauban chain):-

Strasbourg: 5,000 and 60 guns (The bridgehead of Kehl is in Austrian hands) = Includes 2,000 reasonably efficient infantry and 100 *chasseurs à cheval*. The rest of the garrison is not for use in manoeuvres in the open field.

The governor is Brigadier Rene Lavache: he is an excellent friend of the Chief of Police (Cronach), who is a good mason and a real pillar of the community! Also well in with the Mayor Furet and his extended family (another mason).

The former governor of Belfort (Depardieu) is a splendidly well connected Thermidorian who has many friends in the government. He will arrive at Strasbourg soon for work 'of special importance'

Phalsbourg: 2,000 and 30 guns = 1,000 proper infantry, 1,000 not for use in the open field: The present commander is Roethig: a *ci-devant* aristocrat (but a mason) who was almost executed in 1793.

Selestat: 2,000 and 30 guns = 1,000 proper infantry, 1,000 not for use in the open field: The governor, H von Hasselt, is a gruff and curmudgeonly fellow who CERTAINLY has Germanic parents – but he has done a good job there for the past 15 years.

Le Bonhomme: 1,000 and 10 guns = Not for use in manoeuvres in the open field. The governor (Rorsach) is - appropriately - a 'good man' and the life and soul of any party, albeit excessively addicted to the local wine and gambling on dice. Also a lover of pig and cabbage stew! The fortress is shown on Cassini's map as 'Fort Galasse'. I am assuming it was built in 1792, although in reality I suspect it was built in the 1830s.

Thann: 2,000 and 30 guns = Not for use in manoeuvres in the open field. The governor (Cannette) has served time in prison for financial misdemeanors, but his combat record as a leader of militia troops in combat (battles of Kaiserslautern and Weissembourg) is unparalleled

Belfort: 2,000 and 30 guns = Not for use in manoeuvres in the open field.

The commander (Brig. Urich) is no doubt patriotic to France, but has a certain reputation as a braggart and a charlatan. It appears that he

lost his leg at Fleurus when he was run over by an ammunition cart while attempting to flee from the field.

The many Company-size Redoubts (and 'Corps de Garde') along the Rhine are manned by municipal National Guards of poor quality and no artillery (but they do have muskets!). The same applies to obsolete fortresses – eg Saverne

French Army of Meurthe and Moselle, commanded by General Macdonald (This is a reserve army in process of formation well to the rear, at Chalons sur Marne, which may or may not be fed into the battle at a later date...).

Deputy Commander = Hédouville (formerly commander of the Armée d'Angleterre - a ci-devant)

Chief of Staff = Chef de Bde Coehorn (born in Strasbourg)

Infantry Divisions:

Gouvion (ex Holland) 8,000 inf, 12 guns

Lacombe St Michel (former CRA Armée du Rhin) 8,000 inf, 8 guns

Grenier (Paul, b. Sarrelouis, comes from Italy) 6,000 inf, 8 guns

Cavalry Division Pully (formerly army of the Moselle, then in Italy):

1,000 Hussars, 1,000 Dragoons 6 horse guns

Initial Briefing for the player representing the Austrian Hofkriegsrath (Played by Rich Madder in my game)

You play the committee which issues detailed orders to Austrian troops in the field: but (for the rather artificial purposes of this particular game), only insofar as the Alsace theatre is concerned (ie you don't need to write to Archduke Charles, Ott or Bellegarde &c, let alone your garrisons in Hungary or Bohemia). The committee is manned by all the highest in the land (and so it is you who can decide what they collectively want to happen), apart from the Emperor himself, whose word is final on every issue on which he thinks he has an opinion. It will not surprise you to learn that the Emperor is played by the umpire, ie myself.

For the time being the Emperor has decided to keep the forces of Chasteler, Charles, Ott and Bellegarde in essentially the same postures that they currently occupy. They must share any available reinforcements equally between them - ie there will be no change in grand strategy at present, so you must live within that constraint,

although you can always tentatively suggest some changes to him. In particular he has no particular idea what Suvarov's army should be doing, except to secure Alsace for Austria. Our treaty with the Tsar is based on Austria getting Alsace, after which Russia will be granted some rather less well-defined concessions (which our lawyers are even now occupied full time in obscuring and muddying) in Galicia and Moldova. Therefore for the time being we are delighted to have this miraculous general Suvarov fighting so well for us, and so we might as well let him use our troops as he thinks fit. But of course we don't want him to squander them. *Our whole idea, after all, is to fight to the last drop of Russian blood.* (No! – *Note to amanuensis* – Please delete that last sentence). Our whole idea, after all, is to capture Alsace with the least possible effusion of innocent blood.

At present it is not in the mind of the Emperor to support any wild Russian adventures beyond the boundaries of Alsace, to Paris or anywhere else. Once Alsace has been secured, it will be very much in the interest of the whole coalition to defend it staunchly until a favourable peace can be negotiated with the regicidal atheists. It is the view of the Emperor that the loss of Alsace in itself will be enough to discredit their already shaky government and throw it back into the same quality of chaos and confusion that so gratifyingly kept them out of world affairs in 1790-2. Just that one last victory, coming immediately after the body blows of Novi and Zurich, will teach them to pull back from their insufferable arrogance. Meanwhile he says that we must keep our powder dry and conserve an effective army in central Europe, with which we can face the diplomatic rapacity of both Prussia and Russia with firmness, fairness and an embedded faith in the protection of our Blessed Virgin and Catholic Lady.

The list of people to whom you should initially write & correspond with is:-

- Emperor Francis II
- Chasteler, Suvarov's Chief of Staff
- Melas, Division Commander – 8,000 infantry + artillery (8 field guns)
- Hotze, Division Commander - 8,000 infantry + artillery (8 field guns)
- Kray, Division Commander - 6,000 infantry only
- Colonel Groen, commanding the Austrian garrison of the Kehl bridgehead

In addition you might consider making direct communication, if you see a reason, with the Tsar, the French Directory, the governments of Freiburg, Baden and Switzerland &c. The English should also be good for a few cartloads of gold coins, if you stress how much danger you're in!

Reinforcements initially available via the Hofkriegsrath:-

Ulm is clearly a key point in the Austrian empire, being strategically placed on the upper Danube, and a key link in our logistic chain. The fortress and garrison are commanded by Brigadier von Hartstein. His chief of staff is Colonel Kopf, who is particularly charged with expediting convoys and troop movements. In this he is currently being assisted by the Russian Colonel Chestikov, who is responsible for all Russian transactions of a similar nature.

The fronts being serviced by Ulm are:-

- 1) Ott in Switzerland (based in Zurich) and outside Basle. The LC from Ulm runs down the upper Rhine (both banks). The infantry brigade Stolz (2,500 men) will be despatched to Ott on Oct 12.
- 2) Suvarov in Alsace (based in NeuBrisach). The LC from Ulm runs up the Danube to Freiburg and then across the bridge (when it's working!) at Vieux Brisach. A gigantic convoy of supplies, including Munitions, (300 wagons) will be despatched along this route on 9 Oct, to arrive in Vieux Brisach late on Oct 14. Hermann's Russian infantry Division (8,000 infantry and 8 guns) will arrive in Ulm on Oct 14 and will be sent on to Vieux Brisach on the 15th.
- 3) Col Groen is the garrison commander of the Kehl bridgehead. The LC from Ulm goes up the Danube to Tuttlingen, then strikes NW to Rottweil. We understand Groen is self sufficient for food, controlling such a wide area as he does, but unfortunately there are no spare reinforcements for him. Hermann's command cannot be split up and for diplomatic reasons must join Suvarov entire.

(Cf Archduke Charles in the Rhineland is supplied from Nurenburg down the Main via Frankfurt &c, so he is not the concern of this command.)

Further reinforcements for Ott, Suvarov and Groen will become available in due course: maybe even a siege train for Suvarov?

Some GHU thoughts:-

Note that the Russians begin as a concentrated force which far outnumbers each of the small and scattered sub-units of the French. Suvarov's task is therefore to strike hard against each of the latter in turn, to defeat them in detail. Meanwhile Moreau has to concentrate his forces to offer a solid defensive front. However, he will still probably remain heavily outnumbered, so he may well have to retire into his fortresses to win time for the Army of Meurthe and Moselle to arrive. This in turn will confront Suvarov with the need to conduct some sieges, which will be difficult until such time as he can persuade the

Hofkriegsrath to provide him with a respectable siege train of heavy cannon.

The players for Suvarov and Moreau ought to receive GHU reports for every game-day of action, and then they should issue orders for the next game-day: ie the assumption is that these generals will sit down with their staffs at the end of each day, to decide what they want to do on the next day.

The player for the *Hofkriegsrath* should be treated differently, since he (or, strictly speaking, they) will be located much further away from the seat of the action. So the GHU should report only once every two or three game-days, and expect to receive a reply on a similar timescale. Note that the most crucial function of the *Hofkriegsrath* player should be to determine the direction in which Austrian reinforcements from Vienna (via Ulm) are sent. They might, for instance, be sent to Switzerland or Kehl rather than to Suvarov in NeuBrisach.

Note also that the French hope of reinforcement rests with the *Armée de Meurthe et Moselle*, depending on when and if it is released for action in Alsace by the French government!

A few Memos to aid umpiring:-

- Try not to let the French East of the Rhine, except in very small numbers, since the Cassini map doesn't cover that area! Well, in fact we can in fact find some modern maps...
- Try to stress BAD WEATHER – it halves vehicle movement, but is inseparable from winter!
- Also incorporate GUERRILLA WARFARE: The 5 'regiments' of Russian irregular cavalry (Cossacks &c) should be able to create havoc on the French rear areas by raiding the municipal authorities, national guards and *anciens combattants* of every town in Alsace. But by contrast the French seem to have a very limited offensive guerrilla capability – eg to attack convoys behind Russian lines.
- Allow only a 'normal' flow of reinforcements to reach Suvarov = mostly Austrian, but NOT from Archduke Charles, who will be obstinately inactive (Unless he needs to reinforce the Kehl bridgehead, just across the Rhine from Strasbourg).

- Delay up to three days before a report of 'nothing to report' is sent back (conversely each order should envisage the subordinate's action for 3 or 4 days into the future). *But these resolutions have proved to be almost impossible to observe!*
- Remember that reports of enemy strengths can easily be up to 2,000% wrong!
- Try to maintain a LOW speed for the passage of messages (very hard for a GHU to stick to, in his impatience to hurry along the game!). In any case always consult Appendix IV, below, for all details of movement rates, including the transmission of messages. As a summary:-

MOVEMENT RATES:

Couriers / Staff officers go 6.5 Kmph up to 20 Km range; 4 Kmph beyond that. (Spread = 1.3 to 12 Kmph). Courier Intercepted for a double one

CiC's Staff averages 32 Km per day (in 6 hrs). Spread = 24 to 55 Km

Infantry averages 21 Km per day (in 8 hrs). Spread = 8 to 40 Km (incl 1 in 10 are forced marches). 1 in 4 days are REST

Artillery takes longer to cover the same distance, but catch up by nightfall

Cavalry averages 26 Km per day (in 6 hrs). Spread = 16 to 35 km (But excludes scouting)

Bridge Repairs take 36 hrs (Spread between 8 to 96 hrs). Likely to break again unless done with a professional bridging train. Destroying a bridge might take only 30 minutes.

Towns: Open towns (National Guard garrison) surrender when summoned. Average 1 hour, but up to 12 hrs.

(Fortified towns: at Soissons 1814 Moreau surrendered early = after 30 hrs instead of 100).

Rearguard Actions average 4 positions defended in the day, each for an average of 2.25 hrs. Each posn. on average is 3.5 Km apart. Each battle lasts 1 hour and action ends at dusk.

Breaking News

- Announce at the start of day 2 that **Bonaparte landed in the Alpes Maritimes** on 9 October, together with Lannes, Bessi res, Berthier, Murat, Andr ossy, Marmont and 200 Guides (as well as Monge, Berthollet & Roustram)

The local commander, Moncey, tried to arrest Bonaparte for abandoning his army, but was prevented from doing so by his outraged subordinates in the *Arm e d'Italie*, for whom Bonaparte is a Beckham-style super-hero. (SPREAD this news over the next few days!)

- At the start of day 4: announce that **the Austrian bridge at Neuf Brisach** broke after 3 days, due to floodwaters, and bits of it are being recovered all the way down the Rhine!!

- Also (same day) report that **Bonaparte has reached Paris!** Will he run a *coup d' tat*?? Or is he far too discredited for abandoning his army (AND his fleet)?? (GHU must roll dice).

- Macdonald's French **relief army of Meurthe and Moselle** should march to help Moreau, as soon as the penny drops in Paris (*maybe a week?*) that Suvarov is a serious threat. Meanwhile Moreau's problem is to realise that he's actually outnumbered 2:1, and so he should use a very cautious fortress-based type of warfare!

Other News:

- The Duke of York retired to the Zype Line (in North Holland) on 8 Oct, and has started to negotiate with the French. Total evacuation is due by end of November (ie Brune and Vandamme will be free to head South!).

- Meanwhile St Cyr (vs von Waldheim, acting under the command of Bellegarde) conducts brilliant manoeuvres in an attempt to relieve the threatened French Fortress of **Coni** in North Italy... but all to no avail. Preparations for the siege continue: Coni will be invested on 18 Nov.

- At present **Basle** is in French hands but invested by the Austrians. Neither force is under the jurisdiction of either player - ie it counts as a 'neighbouring theatre' (where there is strategic stalemate). The bridge over the Rhine there has been broken. The French (Lefebvre) are on the South bank and the Austrians (Ott) are on the North Bank. Equally the Austrians are to the East of the Brinzel River which runs S. to N. into the Rhine just East of the city, while the French are West of the

Brinzel. Note also that the French hold the fortress of Huningue, just north of Basel (but still under Lefebvre's command).

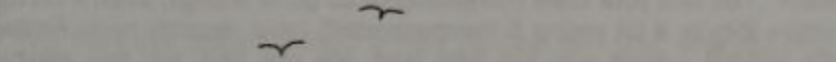
UMPIRE'S PRIVATE THOUGHTS After One Exchange of Letters:

I didn't want to set up an 'equal points wargame', so I gave the Russians a bigger manoeuvre army, but the French more fortresses. Hence it was a deliberately unbalanced scenario (likely to be based mainly on sieges) and I was interested to see how long it would take for the players to get the hang of that fact. Moreau did actually say something about it on the first move, but at this point in time (= after move 1 – but it still held good after move 3) I'm not yet convinced he has fully understood the implications. Basically this is supposed to be an 18th century sort of campaign rather than a 'Napoleonic' one... apart from the inclusion of Cossacks, Bashkirs and Kalmuks, that is, whose absence I had felt in Rich's Soissons campaign (If it had really been modelled on the 1814 campaign, then those Cossacks should have been absolutely *de rigueur*!). However I did show some ambivalence about just which century we were in when Suvarov asked me if he had to pay for his rations in an 18th century manner, to which I replied that things had moved on since the French Revolution so that paper was often more acceptable than coin, due to its higher nutritional values... By the same token I wanted to avoid flat (or otherwise easy) terrain, fair weather and zero political input. Those are the things we normally get in wargames: but they are scarcely realistic for most warfare. Hence I deliberately chose one of the knobbliest parts of France that Cassini-Nord has to offer (but sorry about all those German place names. I'd have preferred French ones). Also I deliberately pre-arranged to have some extreme weather fairly early on, to see how it affected play, including pre-planning the bursting of the Austrian bridge across the Rhine (although I was slightly set back that Suvarov spotted that possibility at once and actually started to set up countermeasures: it remains to be seen how much delay I will allow him before the bridge does burst).(42)

Mention of the ogre Bonaparte brings me to the political background, for which I had pre-rolled some dice. It was 50-50 for the ogre to be definitively arrested on landing, and if he avoided that, for him to fail to make an impact in Paris politics. However I had also pre-determined that a relief army would be sent to Moreau if he got into serious trouble, regardless of who was in charge in Paris (and for Suvarov to get some reinforcements).

Chapter Six - the 'Black Isle' Magical Viking Game

set in the fifth year of the reign of King Magnus One-Arm of Møre (ie sometime about 900 AD).(43)



The BLACK ISLE

The Icelandic / Norse Sagas were written several hundred years after the end of the Viking age, and so they are just about as reliable (or rather 'unreliable') as evidence for Viking activities as anything you might see in the movies today about the activities of the Apaches around Denver or Amarillo in c.1700. There is a small base of genuine knowledge: but a much larger area of speculation, story-telling and plain unvarnished mysticism. If you look at the Vikings through the eyes of the Sagas, therefore, you have to be ready for a rough roller-coaster ride through many magical places, all the way from 'Slabland, Giantland and Permia' (ie roughly somewhere in modern North Russia) to Constantinople. As the author of *The Viking Art of War* (44) I was interested to see how what I understood of the harsh technicalities of life on board a real and actual Viking boat might be reconciled with this mostly fictitious and magical landscape.

The fictitious scenario of the 'Black Isle' game begins with each individual player starting off as a Norwegian guest (along with his Viking boat and crew) at the court of the Earl of Orkney, from where he will set off to make his fortune somewhere towards the West. In the current chapter I propose to present the scenario and details of the game, as well as giving an account of how it all worked out for some of the players when we played it through (Which was August - September 2006). I remember this game with particular fondness, since I found it evoked the north and NW coasts of Scotland in a most unforgettable way (not least because I had visited the Orkneys in the memorable summer of 2005, so I was matching a remembered landscape to an historical / literary construct). The players in my game were David Commerford, Jeff Fletcher, Martin James, Howie Muir, Bob Zuparko and Ned Zuparko.

The basic briefing for each player was as follows:-

General Scenario

It is 1st May in the fifth year of the reign of King Magnus One-Arm of Møre. You and your crew (consisting of 25 good drengs, even if on the whole they're a bit young & inexperienced) have recently been finding life difficult - what with too little land, too few fish, too few eligible women, too many taxes and the bullying manners of King Magnus himself. During the last Yule beer-brewing season you resolved with your men that as soon as the weather improved you would all sail forth from Møre to make your fortunes (and start families!) in new lands. Obviously it was not attractive to turn right to go up the coast into the frozen wastes of Slabland and Permia (Apart from the malevolent giant trolls that we know inhabit that area, normal agriculture is impossible there - and the women are reputed to be the ugliest in the entire world). Nor was it attractive to turn left down the coast towards Jutland and Frisia (which are already over-populated and notorious for their large scale wars. In any case there are far too many of the beastly Danes already living there and taking up the land).

Accordingly you decided to 'Go West, young man'. You and your crew have sailed from Ålesund in your painted dragon-boat *Sea Slug* (two previous careful owners, and a brand new mainmast and rigging fitted only a couple of months ago). You have gone via Shetland to Orkney, where you have been cordially received in the court of Earl Harkund at Stromness. The Earl has been impressed by your spirit of enterprise and he personally knows quite a lot of your cousins back home in Møre. You have won his trust. However he regrets that he has no land to offer you in the Orkneys, but suggests that you sail West yet again, where he has heard there is plenty to be had. While in Orkney you have stocked up with oats, dried salt puffins and seal steaks. Oh yes, and there is also a big fat sow named 'Erika', who has been adopted as a pet (and emergency ration pack) by your crew. She eats cabbages (and sometimes seaweed). You are now ready to sail onwards on the next leg of your voyage.

Before you sail, there are three important decisions you must make:-

i) What is your name? (!)

ii) Earl Harkund has suggested a joint venture with you, whereby one of his own boats (ie the *Laughing Guillemot*, which is twice the size of *Sea Slug*) would go with you to claim new land in his name. If you accept this arrangement you would be the expedition commander, deploying three times as many drengs as you have at present; but you would be nominally the servant of the Earl, and he would have ultimate sovereignty of any lands you occupy. If you prefer to act as a totally independent agent, you would be on your own, with just your original boat and crew. Which option will you adopt?

iii) Whichever of these two alternative arrangements you select, you still have to decide which exact direction you will sail. Remember you have no GPS, Satnav, maps, lodestones or compasses. Directions should be specified according to the direction of the sun at dawn, noon and dusk, or of the Pole Star.

One awaits your esteemed decisions with anticipation not unmixed with curiosity.

SOME SPECIFIC DETAILS of your resources:

Sea Slug: Significant crew members:-

Captain and Owner: Yourself (= *Whatsisname?*) Role = Incisive Command in every type of situation (eg sailing, diplomatic negotiation, military or economic action).

First Mate: Harkon Harkonsson the Unready. Role = 2ic and Navigator (Your closest associate and confidant. He's from the 'officer class': very clever but a bit absent minded and can sometimes seem to be detached in his own world. Likes poetry).

Steersman: Mabro the Oily. Role = Co-navigator: sets the sails & does the steering! (He has expressed a strange desire to visit Rome, Constantinople and Jerusalem.)

Bosun: Sturri the Particularly Somnulent. Role = 'Motivates' the crew and maintains discipline, morale, loyalty &c (ie like an RSM). Likes smoked herrings.

Bard: Sigurd Snorlesson. Role = Amuses the crew (to help morale) with songs, music, poetry, funny faces and games. He can also help in diplomatic negotiations.

Berserker: Egil the Mad. Role = Takes the lead in any fight (even when there isn't one). He is the 'point man' in any attack, especially when he's fired up on mushrooms.

Other Drengs: Total 20 (average age 18). Role = Rowing, mucking out, fighting and doing any other hard work that is required, such as fishing or farming.

Note that for rowing, there is a total of 26 oars, although not all the 'officers and ncos' will always take part in the rowing. In light seas 16 oars should be sufficient to propel the boat forward, and in most other seas there should be enough wind for the sail to do the job on its own.

For fighting, every man has a big round wooden shield, a helmet, a dagger, a spear and either an axe or a sword. The two top officers and the berserker also have mail shirts.

Laughing Guillemot: This is a gigantic boat but rather old and cranky. It occurs to you that Earl Harkund may not actually see either it or its commander as élite elements in his mainly prestigious warfleet.

Significant crew members:-

Captain and owner: Hagar the Greaseball (*a good navigator but a poor commander*)

First Mate: Gudrod Gudmundsson the Fat

Steersman: Halfred Stainesson

Bosun: Gisli 'Red Beard' Olafsson

Bard: Gunnar Crow-voice

Berserker: Ivar the Enraged

Other Drengs: Total 45 (average age 20)

Course of Play

Having decided on his name and whether or not he wants to take the *Laughing Guillemot* with him, each player will then set a course towards the West (*whoops! I mean 'into the setting sun'*), to make his fortune in unknown lands. In each turn the player will outline his intentions to the GHU, who will then report back on all relevant

phenomena encountered (eg weather, landfalls, strange geographical features - such as eg giant whirlpools - or the even stranger human & animal inhabitants who may be encountered). Note that each player operates exclusively within his own private world, oblivious of all the other players who may have started off simultaneously (in some parallel universe). This created some headaches for the GHU - and his players did occasionally bump into each other along the way - but luckily he was able to apply enough fudge to prevent this leading to the total disruption of the fabric of the universe... Mostly it turned out that each player was able to run his own adventure and achieve his own outcome independently of the other players. Only the GHU could monitor what they were all doing at any given moment.

The geographical area covered by the game can be divided roughly into four areas, each of which has its own special characteristics (the local details of which are generated by GHU die rolls):-

- a) *The Orkneys and Scotland = areas that had been very well known to the real Vikings*

The GHU had a detailed modern map of these (although the players were encouraged not to consult any such document). As the players progressed westwards through this area the topography they discovered was described in a straightforwardly 'realistic' manner - and any local inhabitants encountered were actually supposed to be ordinary crofters or fishermen, even if they might be hostile; and even though the GHU should try to invest them with a spuriously mystic aura, to heighten the ludic tension.

- b) *The Outer Hebrides and their associated sea areas, up to 1,000 miles west from the Orkneys.*

In this case the GHU did not use a modern map, but rolled dice for both the size & shape of any island that might be encountered (one of which was usually 'The Black Isle' [45]- see illustration, above), and whatever other 'nearly realistic' or 'totally magical' features the players might encounter in their journeys (See 'Umpire Notes', below). At one end of the spectrum (say for a die roll of 6 on a D6) there might be an almost realistic island the size of Lewis or Skye; while at the other end (for a roll of 1) there might be a highly imaginary and cantankerous dragon sleeping deep inside a small rocky outcrop inspired (somewhere deep within the GHU's long term memory) by 'Fingal's Cave' on the island of Staffa (near Iona). All options were possible to the GHU within this zone, and the general idea was to make an interesting but (especially) entirely unpredictable adventure for each player. Please note that only one of my six players in 2006 managed to progress beyond

this area before they either died, or settled down to peaceful bliss on an island that seemed to be 'something like Lewis'!

- c) *The wider North Atlantic, including Iceland, Greenland and the east coast of North America.* This area was just as open to magical interpretations as the previous one, although there would be few, if any, small islands (apart from Icebergs, Sleeping Whales and Giant Walruses that might be mistaken for islands). Food supply would become an increasing problem as navigators crossed increasingly wide stretches of water - and the fauna to be discovered on the hitherto undiscovered (and therefore un-named) land masses at the far side would become increasingly exotic. In the event only Martin James (AKA *Hagrid Buttafinga*) would make it to Newfoundland - where he would promptly be overwhelmed and killed (*somewhat unexpectedly!*) by the entire rocket-firing army of the Chinese Emperor Ming the Merciless... Martin had said he'd wanted to be free of the game by the end of (realtime) September - so as GHU I obliged! (But as a consolation prize, Martin now sits in Valhalla at the right hand of Odin himself).

- d) *Ireland, Noirmoutier, Spain, and all points South, including into the Mediterranean*

In the event not one of my players ever made it this far, despite the heavy hint that I had put into the briefings that the steersman Mabro the Oily had "expressed a strange desire to visit Rome, Constantinople and Jerusalem." (46) Therefore I never had to formulate a doctrine for players venturing into this area. If I had in fact had to do so, I think I would have tried to stick quite closely to the real geography, but would have populated it with increasingly well organised and heavily armed local forces. In real life the Vikings seem to have got on quite well in Ireland (despite the intervention of various giants, magical leprauchaus and suchlike); but to have beaten their heads in vain against the Frankish, Arab and Byzantine empires. If any of my players had found their way into the Mediterranean, I believe they would have met a sticky end quite quickly.

A Note on Navigational Techniques

In my book on the *Viking Art of War* I had assumed that Norsemen tended to do a lot better as sailors if they chose good weather for each day's movement, and preferably sailed to a place that they could see from their point of departure. They should then land at their destination at or before nightfall, pull their boat up the beach, and not risk either sailing through the hours of darkness or sailing for more than a few

hours out of sight of land. This view is controversial, since a number of learned authorities seem to believe that large Viking fleets could sail in perfect formation and with perfect navigation across broad seas, and even oceans, regardless of the weather. But alas: personally I reject such opinions, and as GHU in this game I rewarded my players accordingly.(47)

I told players that "The normal drill is to keep close to land, and start sailing only if the weather is suitable. Then camp on a beach each night. It is certainly best if you can see where you're going to from where you set off, so navigation becomes just a matter of visual contact. However there will always be occasions when you can't see your landing place from where you set off. In these cases it's certainly best to know what and where you're sailing to (as you did eg when you sailed from Møre to the Shetlands). Failing that, you can detect various signs such as the activity of seabirds, which can tell you whether land is close or not, even if you can't see it. It is of course very hazardous to launch out into an open sea that you do not know about, without any certain knowledge that there is land out there somewhere (unless you have plenty of food and water).

As for distances travelled, these cannot be measured at all accurately. You can make only rough estimates on the basis of how many days' sailing it takes to get from A to B (eg from the Shetlands to the Orkneys is 'one or two days' sailing')."

It could be argued that the need to make a landfall every night tended to slow down the game and limit the range of players' movements. Against this I would reply that not only was this 'realistic', but that most of the players themselves seemed to be naturally cautious (and rightly so!) - unsure of what they might find if they struck out too boldly into unknown territory. Besides, they always faced the possibility that a sudden change in the weather might blow them off course into uncharted open water where they could not make a landfall by dusk - and in the case of Hagrid Buttafinga, this blew the player all the way across the Atlantic Ocean!

A Note on Religion and Magic

This was supposed to be a 'magical' game, since some of the Icelandic sagas, in common with many other medieval texts, seemed to believe that magic was a real and tangible force in the everyday world. As the GHU and game designer I was assuming that the Vikings of around 900 AD shared this belief, and also that they believed in their pantheon of Gods as a set of real people (or 'super-heroes') who tended to fly around and throw hammers at each other, somewhere up there in the ever-changing heavens.(48)

Now the problem with all this is that very few of my players believed a word of it, being highly educated and sceptical 21st century humanists (as I am myself, in fact). They approached the game with a strong instinct to 'de-mystify' and 'de-magicalise' it. So I found that my task as a GHU was to maximise the magical elements (or to hint at them when they didn't exist), precisely in order to counteract the tendency of the players to minimise them. I kept telling myself that even if the Captain of the *Sea Slug* (ie the player) didn't really believe in ancient superstitions, most of his crew almost certainly would. Therefore it should have been very much in the interest of the player to conceal his scepticism from his followers (ie to 'stay in the closet', as it were). Therefore I tried to reward players whenever they did understand this point, and I took a rather dim view of players who anachronistically clung on to rationalistic / scientifically-based modern belief systems.

Note that a similar issue came up in the 'Barbarossa' game (See Chapter 4, above), when my 'Hitler' player started to rave about trying to find the Ark of the Covenant. Clearly the player himself had been watching far too much 'Indiana Jones' - but I took the view that the real Hitler actually HAD been advised by astrologers, mystics and other similar types. Therefore a Fuhrer Directive to 'find the Ark' could well have been realistic in the circumstances of the Fuhrerbunker in 1941 - even if it might seem to be patently ridiculous to any highly educated and sceptical 21st century humanist!

A Note on Ultra-Violence

I found that there was also a very 'politically correct' aversion to ultra-violence abroad among our players, which I am morally certain was not shared by the 10th century Vikings they were supposed to be playing. Indeed, in most cases the players seemed to make a point of approaching any settlement they encountered with, at most, a delegation of only four or five Drengs - in order to parley. IE No great emphasis on rape and pillage, which is doubtless an admirable instinct in the breast of the modern player. But I'm not convinced it was 'in period' for the fifth year of the reign of King Magnus One-Arm of Møre. Hmm. One player even started to ask me whether or not we should be playing this sort of thing at all, if it might lead to such despicable behaviour... (49)

On a rather more practical / tactical plane, I found that the players did not really understand the characteristics of their 'Berserkers'. As the author of *The Viking Art of War* I suspect that the Berserker was a type of lycanthropic wild man who had much more basis in literary convention than he had in reality: but as author of this game I was assuming that he was indeed factual and real. At the slightest provocation he would make it his business to imitate, empathise with and in many ways actually BECOME a savage wolf!

Other UMPIRE NOTES, as basic guidelines for how to run the game:

- i) *During play I sometimes attempted to put opinions into the mouths of crew members of the 'Sea Slug' in the following sort of way (which could be adapted on each turn, to suit the immediate situation):*

Harkon Harkonsson the Unready (First Mate) asks, rather vaguely, 'I say chaps: just what are we aiming to do? We can't go somewhere unless we know where it is, can we? It's all very well going round the ocean without seeing land - but no one can do that forever without starving to death. Or rather dying of thirst. It reminds me of a poem I sort of half remember which was all about "Water water everywhere, nor any drop to drink."'

Mabro the Oily (Steersman) says 'The Earl of Orkney has no solid information about his rumoured land of honey and riches towards the setting sun. By contrast we know for a fact that the fabulously wealthy cities of Rome, Constantinople and Jerusalem do actually exist, towards the NOONDAY sun. It would be much safer to go there.'

Sturri the Particularly Somnulent (Bosun) says 'I vote for anywhere that does good kippers. No one round here seems to know how to do them properly: can't we find someone who does?'

Sigurd Snorlessen (Bard) sings a mournful lament along the lines of 'We joined the navy to see the world: but what did we see? We saw the seal'. He also offers a rhyme:

There once was a sea-going Slug

that its crew did not find very snug.

And what did they get?

In short, they got wet.

Each one asked himself "Am I a mug?"

Egil the Mad (Berserker) asks "Where's the Enemy? Let me get at him!"

ii) The Black Isle Itself (The GHU will need to keep a record of all these details for each player and for each island.)

In the case of any island approached, the GHU should use his imagination to the full! Try to provide a picture of it for players, (50) and try to make it sound sinister. Give each island approached a local name (which players may wish to change).

The GHU should make a sketch or a rough map, including a limited number of beaches where a ship can land.

Roll for local resources - sheep, cattle, pigs, seabirds, beached whales &c.

Roll dice for which [IF ANY = it may be an empty territory] of the 'Lords of the Black Isle' turn up (and keep the others in reserve for the next island visited...). Note possible linguistic difficulties.

The 'lord' rolls again for whether he comes to the landing party as it lands, or whether the landing party gets as far as his village / hall first.

Then roll for which of his two faces he presents - the nice face (= negotiations) or the nasty face (= military action &c).

He may have treasure! (and even unoccupied land may contain buried treasures)

Some Possible Lords of the Black Isle (Each has a retinue, or clan, determined by die rolls):

Jøn McSporran: Scottish nationalist and poet. Passionate for both causes.

Torfinn O'Neill: Irish! Genial, dispensing plentiful liquid hospitality & river dance, but he can show a nasty streak (He carries a big knob kerry).

Eric Trollspawn the Ferocious: A left-leaning social historian when sitting around the campfire: otherwise reverts to Troll-like behaviour. (*in Durness*)

Hamish McStormforce: a Pict, suspicious of Viking plans for genocide. Good at pottery and building brochs. (*in Rona*)

Magnus Magnusson the Bastard: Good at interrogations! "I've started so I'll finish" is his famous catchphrase.

Cuthbert, a Celtic monk, with his monastery - but he does not possess much loot. Tries to convert everyone to Christianity.

iii) Some Possible Natural Hazards (But make up more of your own!)

Giant Walrus / Whales (= a threat, or a gastronomic opportunity? Can capsizes a whole boat...)

Sea Serpent

Maelstrom

High winds, hurricanes & high seas

Very large predatory Eagles

Diseases (Viking life expectancy was about 34 years)

Famine (What if there's no hog on the hogstrand?)

A man with no neck but enormous muscles.

Volcanos

Icebergs

iv) The Weather: *This was the weather I generated by die rolls for my game - but of course if you play the game for yourself, you may roll a completely different metereology! Note that this weather is expressed in modern terminology, rather than in the way that I would explain it to players.*

- | | | |
|-----|----|---|
| May | 1 | Fine - breeze from East |
| | 2 | Fine - breeze from East, decreasing in afternoon |
| | 3 | Flat calm - fog at sea; wind rising in late afternoon |
| | 4 | Gale force winds from the North |
| | 5 | Fine - good wind from NW |
| | 6 | Rain, but a usable wind from South |
| | 7 | No rain, wind from SW |
| | 8 | Sun. Wind from SW |
| | 9 | Excellent weather - a beautiful wind from the South |
| | 10 | Excellent weather - Wind from the NE |
| | 11 | Very good weather - Wind from the SE |
| | 12 | HORRIBLE Gale force wind from the NE |
| | 13 | Excellent weather - Wind from the NE |
| | 14 | Rain & high wind from the SW |
| | 15 | Very good weather - Wind from the NW |
| | 16 | Very good weather - Wind from the NW |

- 17 Very good weather - Wind from the NE
- 18 Reasonably good weather - Wind from the SW
- 19 Fair weather - Wind from the SW
- 20 Awful - a storm: Gale from SW
- 21 Good weather - Wind relatively low from NE
- 22 Awful - another storm: Gale from SE
- 23 Fine with light showers - wind force 4 from South

What Actually Happened in my game

a) In the early phase while I was still using real maps:-

On the first day's sailing from the Earl of Orkney's court in Stromness, Orkney, three of the players (ie Ned, Bob and Martin) went SW and landed on a (generic) bleak unoccupied beach located on the modern Caithness-Sutherland border.

Half a day west from there they encountered Neave Island (a Skerry), after which Eilean nan Ron Island (and then Rabbit Island) opened the head of the Kyle of Tongue fjord (which is 8 miles long = as reached by Martin and David), which led to Tong village (which was sacked by Martin).

Then a full day further west, Ned, Bob and David reached Durness, home of Eric Trollspawn the Ferocious.

Just around the promontory from Durness, on the West side of the Kyle of Durness, there was a landing site by a wood near Dail, where Bob found treasure in a ruined broch. He then proceeded around Cape Wrath, to the SW of which he found an un-named and uninhabited beach where a river reaches the sea. Then there was Bolherick settlement, opposite Eilean an Roin Mor island. From there Bob went into Loch Laxford & found a deserted beach (SE of Red Point), with plenty of seals for him to chew his way through.

Meanwhile Martin had struck off NW to Rona = the only real landfall to the NW before Iceland? He found two groups of inhabitants: Picts living in brochs, and Irish monks with a shanty town and stone church. Unfortunately I made the mistake of telling Martin the island was called 'Anor', which gave him the clue he needed to identify the whole layout of the map I was using.

South of Bob's visit to Loch Laxford Bob found Badcall Bay and settlement (Crazy name - but I kid you not). He found a few houses in this area, with the genial Thorfinn O'Neill in possession.

South of that again is Eddrachillis Bay, where Ned and Howie breezed in after a scary storm, when they had been lost at sea for a time. They made a base (in admirable Viking style) on Oldany Island, which was inhabited by 24 Pictish sheep that did not last long. From Oldany they found a Pictish community living in strong brochs to the East (= quite appropriately the modern 'Nedd' on 'Loch Nedd!'), and Irish monks with a shanty town and stone church to the West at Stoer. I told Ned that the Stoer peninsula was called 'Fraoich' (after the lochan at its centre), which I hope put him off the scent a bit (He thought it was the one in the Kyle of Bute). I'm not sure where Howie thought he was.

South of Stoer is the rather large community of Lochinver. I told Ned that it was called 'Culag' (after the Culag hotel there which, as it happens, the grandfather of my best friend had once owned), and he immediately went off and found a 1960s photo of Loch Culag (actually Loch na Doire Daraich on my map) on the internet. This lochan is actually half a mile south of Lochinver - but I have yet to be convinced that Ned actually has a clue where it is!

The Scottish settlement at 'Pool of Mory' is my codename for Ullapool; but it is too far inland up the 'fjord' of Loch Broom to have been visited by any of the players, even though both Ned and Howie were (irrationally?) scared of its alleged military potential.

Ned eventually found a cave (with a possible dragon) on the south shore of Gairloch. Due west from there he sailed on to the northernmost point of the Isle of Skye, at Kimaluag Bay.

b) Unreal places that I made up using my imagination and dice:-

- a) An un-named monster whirlpool between Rona and Iceland. It nearly killed Martin.
- b) An un-named new volcano that has just erupted to the South of Iceland (reached by Martin and interpreted to and by him as a fire-breathing dragon).
- c) An out of position and liberally-interpreted version of Iceland, where Martin founded 'Grypehaven' on the South coast. Inland there is an Irish community led by Magnus Magnusson, which I believe is the ONLY human settlement on this island...

Summary of End Results

Player #1 (Jeff Fletcher, AKA Ålesund No-Name) got no further than the court of the Earl of Orkney, where he had a very comfortable time without any adventures at all, thank you very much.

Player #2 (Ned Zuparko, AKA Theoderic the Head-Cleaver - or 'Beaver' to his mother) ventured (somewhat timidly - or let us say 'diplomatically', especially in his relations towards dragons) down the NW coast of Scotland in search of Ireland. He met up with Howie for a time, and together they raided 'Culag' (*modern Lochinver*); but finally Ned ended up with a fertile estate, as the Lord of Skye.

Player #3 (Martin James, AKA Hagrid Buttafinga) had an exciting time venturing as far and as fast as possible, out to the West. He discovered Iceland, killed a dragon and stole its treasure, lost his boat, found another - but he finally went so far West that he discovered, and was killed by, the invincible armies of Ming the Merciless, Emperor of Cathay.

Player #4 (Howie Muir, AKA Winegard Moreswillson) also had an exciting time raiding 'Culag' and then discovering new islands just over the horizon from the known world. He too killed a dragon and got its treasure - only to fall into a fatal brawl over the loot with the crew of the '*Laughing Guillemot*'.

Player #5 (David Commerford, AKA Hakon Toecrusher) found but fled from the settlement of Eric Trollspawn (*at modern Durness*), only to be sunk at sea by a frenzied attack by a narwhal.

Player #6 (Bob Zuparko, AKA Hagen Dasson) also ventured diplomatically down the NW coast of Scotland, avoiding dragons; but failed to catch up with Howie and Ned in their attack on 'Culag'. Instead, he was blown over the SW horizon into a rich land that was perfect in every way - except it was owned by the heavily armed Lord O'Reilly, an Irishman. Fortunately Bob managed to escape in a stolen boat and eventually joined his brother Ned on Skye.

Poetic Post-Script

The original inspiration for this game had been the Icelandic sagas and their related poetry. As the game progressed it turned out that its format was indeed well suited to 'spinning a saga' for each player in good Icelandic style. It had an episodic rhythm - ie we land on a beach, we have an adventure, we go away, we find another beach, and so on - which one player even complained was 'formulaic'. But it did at least provoke a jewel of Western literature which, courtesy of Ned Zuparko, I reproduce here:-

Theoderic Head-Cleaver, a King of the Sea

A Drapa Attributed to Sigurd Snorlesson the Bard:

Leaving Magnus, we cross the sea,
Ålesund, Shetland, Stromness, Orkney.
Theoderic's drengs do agree,
Spurn Harkund and seek new country.

To the setting-sun we did sail,
Met Trollspawn's sheep, and grabbed its tail,
Escaping his trap without fail,
Rowed away, not losing a nail.

The wind rose, then a ship we see,
Veterkollen, for us lucky.
Joined to *Sea Slug* by rope was she,
'Til the gale blew out o'er the lee.

Two days of gusts, we lose two friends,
To a deep and watery end.
Now the torn sail we have to mend,
Then to a new course we must tend.

Sing! Theoderic Head-Cleaver,
Trader and great wealth-retriever,
Brave fighter and Gods-believer,
Captain and dragon-deceiver!

On this Captain Winegard does mull,
Releases a bird, a seagull.
We watch its flight from our hull,
The weather turns bright and not dull.

We followed its path true, so merry.
Odin's friend flew to a skerry.
We land and spy, 'neath clouds so airy,
The mainland near - should we tarry?

Sail we to Micklegard, our band?
Theoderic points with his hand,
Then he wisely gives the command,
We will stay to scout out that land.

Veterkollen and *Sea Slug* crew,
Now plan separate raids to do,
Winegard, the right, to coastland new,
For us the mainland, straight and true.

Drink! Theoderic Head-Cleaver,
Trader and great wealth-retriever,
Brave fighter and Gods-believer,
Captain and dragon-deceiver!

Hamish McStormforce we do greet,
On whom a ruse is tried, so neat.
The wily Pict cannot be beat,
He only laughs, we take a seat.

For days we talk, and then we trade,
Next an alliance we have made.
To Culag we will go and raid,
Glad we are now that we have stayed.

Veterkollen, the Picts, and we,
At dawn attack the Scots - they flee,
Scared by Egil's cries and glee.
Culag's ours, we take all we see.

Picts leave, and after many days,
Veterkollen, and we part ways.
Monks say Ireland is through the haze,
So we decide there our path lays.

Dance! Theoderic Head-Cleaver,
Trader and great wealth-retriever,
Brave fighter and Gods-believer,
Captain and dragon-deceiver!

To the noon-day sun for three nights,
And then a storm on us alights.
Mabro saves us, but oh, what frights,
He steers to a cave, welcome sight!

In the darkness, 'cross the water brown,
Awful rumbling turns smiles to frowns.
A dragon's sleeping, not far down,
Now will we burn or will we drown?

Theoderic turns us away,
While under the beast's nose we sway.
To the cave's mouth we make our way,
Silently, our fears held at bay.

Odin relents, the wind shifts sides,
Upon our oars our hope resides.
Egil holds Kylie, scream subsides.
Out of the cave, across the tides.

Love! Theoderic Head-Cleaver,
Trader and great wealth-retriever,
Brave fighter and Gods-believer,
Captain and dragon-deceiver!

The wind now behind us, we steer
To land that ahead does appear.
Onwards we sail, though whales are near,
Leaving all danger to the rear.

We landed and camped with hearts light,
Joined by a narwhal, with tusk white,
Just beached* as a gift from Odin's might.
This omen set our minds aright.

Harkon and Sturri some drengs led,
To find good land for our homestead**.
A standing stone***, like a head,
Above the fields where we'll be fed.

Theoderic's eyes opened wide,
After he climbed a mountain-side****.
"To this place, drengs," loudly he cried,
"Odin himself was our one guide!"

Eat! Theoderic Head-Cleaver,
Trader and great wealth-retriever,
Brave fighter and Gods-believer,
Captain and dragon-deceiver!

Theoderic started to plan,
A future for his island clan.
On Herjanbygarland***** we can,
Provide food and land for each man.

Plant in the Spring, then grain we'll stow,
From this base a-Viking we'll go,
Winter in halls, snug in the snow,
Secure against weather and foe.

We gained new strength, our numbers grew,
When joined by Hagan Dasson's crew.
Men from Møre know what to do,
To prosper in this land so new.

To Hamish's brochs Harkon went,
Returned with settlers the Pict sent.
Now our life here is permanent,
Which for us Theoderic meant.

Someday we'll sail to Mabro's Rome,
Or to Ireland across the foam,
With our deep roots here in this loam,
Shared by good drengs, it is our home.

Hail! Theoderic Head-Cleaver,
Trader and great wealth-retriever,
Brave fighter and Gods-believer,
Captain and dragon-deceiver!

* This beach was called *Rak-bvair Saevarbakk* ("Wash-up-whale Sea-beach") = modern Kilmaluag Bay, on Skye.

** *Theodericsborg* (Theoderic's fortified city), modern Kilmaluag, was the main settlement on the island.

*** This stone column ("*bratt-steinn*") is still visible today. [Well, GHU apologises that the Old Man of Storr is actually 10 miles further to the South than the fictitious one above Kilmaluag beach]

**** *Theodericsgnipa* ("Theoderic's Peak"): modern Beinn Edra. Though not the highest mountain on the island, it was used as a place of meditation.

***** Modern Skye. The few Pictish inhabitants called the island *Lochnagar*, but Theoderic named it "*Herjansbygarland*" (Herjan's land for settling – Herjan, or "Lord of hosts" being another name for Odin.)

(= Translations from the Old Icelandic Dictionary, compiled by Ned Zuparko).

Tradition also has it that in later years Sigurd added another verse to his Drapa:

Stout Kylie's words blast o'er the wave,
"Your chores! Come back, Egil you knave!"
"I raid," he says, "my ears to save,
She is worse than The Dragon's Cave."

Appendices:

Appendix I: 'The Invaders Reach Berkshire'

- the original 1974 'Daily Telegraph' report on the 'Sealion' game

by Richard Cox

Published in *The Daily Telegraph Magazine* No.497, May 17 1974, pp.14-21. Reproduced here with kind permission of 'The Daily Telegraph'.

The German paratroops jumped at dawn, as they had done in Holland, in Belgium, in Norway. But this time there were more of them. Nearly 8,000 *Fallschirmjäger* of the Seventh *Fliegerdivision*, carried by a stream of 600 Junkers 52 transports, ugly three-engined beasts, flying a bare 150 feet above the Channel to stay below the British radar and only pulling up to their 400-foot dropping height as they crossed the Kentish coast at Hythe. The time was six o'clock on the morning of September 22, 1940, just a few minutes after official sunrise on a grey, cloudy, windless day. Below the long lines of aircraft the unwontedly calm sea was dark with the countless barges and motor boats of the invasion fleet. By breakfast time close on 90,000 troops were successfully ashore on beaches between Folkestone and Seaford. *Sealion* Day had begun.

Fiction? Of course. But strongly factual. This was precisely how the German High Command planned *Sealion*. On September 15 Hitler postponed the plan until 1941 and it died, as his soldiers died in the snows of Russia. Had he stuck to *Sealion*, would he have succeeded? The question has fascinated a generation of military writers. What follows is an account based on a War Game organised by *The Daily Telegraph Magazine* and the Department of War Studies at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, in a carefully planned effort to determine the answer.

The game was actually held in the Staff College, close to Sandhurst, under the sponsorship of the Commandants of both these renowned establishments. A panel of German umpires, all of general's rank, flew in from Germany. So did the ex-*Luftwaffe* officer 'playing' Goering, and Professor Rohwer, Director of the Institute of Defence Research in Stuttgart, who took the naval role. The German army 'player' was Colonel Wachsmuth, currently the *Bundeswehr* liaison officer at the Staff College. The Germans were supported by their Defence Attaché in London, Admiral Schuenemann. It was an impressive array of

military expertise, and the British were no less well represented, with the backing of the Ministry of Defence.

The *Kriegsspiel*, or War Game, is a Prussian invention, and a highly practical one at that. Early in 1940 the German High Command did a War Game on their projected invasion of France - and then obeyed its lessons in the real attack of May, 1940, with triumphant success. No game was done on *Sealion* though aspects of it were examined.

The scenario of our *Sealion* Game started with the known plans of each side. German and British officers played the respective German and British naval, army and air commanders, with Hitler and Churchill also represented. Each side had a command room at the Staff College from which decisions were telephoned to the main room (*a) and shown as moves on a large landscape model of South Eastern England (*b) and the Channel, specially made at the School of Infantry and laid out at the Staff College. The resultant battles were umpired by a panel of generals, admirals and air marshals, with disputes over exact losses settled by cutting cards - the traditional way - under the direction of the organiser, Paddy Griffith, a young (*c) War Studies lecturer at the Royal Military Academy.

Paddy Griffith also made some adjustments to history, to give the Germans a better chance than most historians assume they had. One entirely logical measure was to assume that on September 7, 1940, the *Luftwaffe* would not have switched its attacks to London and British cities, but would have continued hammering airfields. (*d) Another adjustment was that the German diversionary naval operation planned under the codename of *Herbstreise* was enlarged into making 10,000 troops available for a landing in East Anglia or Scotland. And it was also allowed that subsequent bombing of London would destroy railways between East Anglia and the true invasion beaches in Kent and Sussex, so that British troops could not be redeployed quickly.

Furthermore we obtained hitherto unpublished Admiralty records of the actual weather in the period September 19-30, 1940. It proved to have been initially more favourable to invasion than the long range forecasts which helped to dissuade Hitler and which historians invariably quote.

The panel of umpires was uniquely qualified, two for each service. There was General Adolf Galland, the *Luftwaffe* ace who in the autumn of 1940 was commanding a wing of Me 109 fighters on the French coast. The British air umpire was Air Chief Marshal Sir Christopher Foxley-Norris, also much decorated, though quick-wittedly self-deprecating. 'No one could dispute my Battle of Britain record,' he remarked. 'It was love-two. I was shot down twice.' The naval umpires were Admiral Fredrich Ruge, in 1940 Commodore of the *Kriegsmarine's* minesweeping flotilla in the Channel and involved in the day to day *Sealion* preparations; and Rear Admiral Edward Gueritz, a Royal Navy amphibious warfare expert. Finally, the German army umpire was General Heinz Trettner, postwar Inspector General of the

Bundeswehr and in 1940 on the staff of General Student, the German airborne Commander. His opposite number was a brisk moustachioed British paratroop officer, Major General Glyn Gilbert, the present commander of the Joint Warfare Establishment, who in September, 1940, was 'a second lieutenant defending the end of Brighton pier'. It says much for the authenticity of the War Game that these six umpires agreed unanimously on the final outcome.

The two actual days of the Game were scheduled to cover up to a week of 'war', long enough for the outcome to be evident. Hitler always believed Britain would sue for peace. For this reason, *Sealion's* final objective lay no further north than a line from Maldon in Essex to the Severn estuary above Bristol. The main problem was the weather. Would the sea calm down enough to allow the 1,900 canal barges, lumbering and underpowered, to take the three successive waves of German troops and horses across?

After a formal speech by the Head of the War Studies Department, Anthony Brett-James, the war starts with the announcement that it is now September 19. The players of each side, firmly kept apart in different rooms, must decide their moves and relay what they order to the umpires. In practice, this means the Germans must decide whether the moment is right to launch the *Sealion* invasion. So the war starts with armies, shipping and aircraft, shown in their places on the scenic panorama of the model. The German players find that wind and sea rule out both September 19 and 20 for launching *Sealion*. Each day each side is handed the actual naval records of the time kept at Dungeness, plus original forecasts given that day for the following 24 hours. Nevertheless, the German divisions move to their embarkation points at the French Channel ports, while the *Luftwaffe* bombs Britain's south coast and aircraft lay mines in the Harwich, Humber and Thames estuary waters.

Churchill, ebulliently played by Brigadier Page, Assistant Commandant of the RMA Sandhurst, responds by ordering more troops south. By September 21, four more divisions are *en route* to Saffron Walden, Newnury, Crowborough and Tunbridge Wells to bolster the nine already in East Anglia, Kent and Sussex. The half-million men of the Home Guard are brought under Regular Army command. Most significantly, Churchill categorically refuses to detach men to Iceland, where Germans have landed to create the *Herbestreise* diversion.

The moment of decision comes on the afternoon of September 21. The model shows the barges assembled and great air activity over the Channel. The German protective minefields are laid, stretching out from the North Foreland. The wind has dropped, the sea has calmed, tomorrow's forecast is fine. 'We must take the risk', declares Colonel Wachsmuth, the German army player. Professor Rohwer for the navy and the *Luftwaffe* player Rudolf Rothenfelder, President of the Fighter Pilots' Association in Munich, nod assent.

Accordingly, at dusk the first wave of the invasion fleet forms up laboriously off Ostend, Calais, Dieppe and Boulogne. Some 700 barges, towed in pairs by tugs, will carry the first 90,000 men, (*e) with several thousand horses - much of the German artillery, incredibly, is still horse-drawn. They carry three days' supplies. The second wave will follow two days later, by which time Folkestone should have been captured.

Inevitably this crawling progress is spotted by the British, by an armed trawler to be precise, but not until 11 pm. Half an hour later the invasion warning codeword *Cromwell* is being radioed and telephoned round Britain. At midnight the Home Fleet is ordered south at full steam.

By dawn on September 22, when the paratroops are dropping among the Kentish orchards and hopfields, there has already been action in the Channel and umpires are in heated discussion. At the umpires' table General Galland insists: 'Everything is in favour of this fleet on a calm sea with good visibility.' General Gilbert nods cheerful acquiescence: 'They'd have got us absolutely on the hop.' The two Admirals are less certain, though they agree that the *Kriegsmarine* would slaughter a force consisting of the cruiser *Manchester* and four destroyers, rushed out from Portsmouth in the early hours as the bells were ringing.

Ambushed by nine destroyers, all the British force is sunk. But a determined attack by fast motor torpedo boats on the eastern flank of the invasion fleet is counted as more successful. 'Twenty barges sunk and 20 left helpless when their tow ropes are cut,' announced Paddy Griffith.

The method of umpiring is both simple and traditional in War Games. The panel considers the forces pitted against each other in an engagement. They discuss weather, light, respective armament. If they cannot agree on losses, each side states its view and cards are cut to determine the exact numbers of hits scored by each force. The result is then relayed back to each side's players in the form of an Intelligence report. Thus the Germans would know they had lost 20 barges, but the British would not know the exact number.

By these methods the umpires conclude that only half the invasion fleet will land at the right time in the right place. But one of the strongpoints of German planning was that officers took command of whoever they found in their area. General Trettner, spuce, businesslike, explains: 'Every group had a special point to attain. We didn't give a battalion an objective.' The landings of the first wave are counted a success, with most of the 90,000 ashore and fighting somewhere.

Overhead the *Luftwaffe* is fighting a tremendous battle after dawn. Reluctantly Galland concedes the shooting down of 29 of 29 of the paratrooping Junkers 52s and 17 of his own Me 109s, after protesting

'In this operation I am losing only two - and they collide.' He disagrees vehemently with the players' under-utilisation of aircraft, reckoning 500 fighters would fly 1,200 sorties a day. 'And they'd come back with no ammunition.' This is conceded. RAF losses are reported as 70 fighters. But so exaggerated have German claims been that - as really happened - the players underestimate the RAF's strength at 140 when it is actually nearer 700.

But feedback of intelligence to each side is vital in war. Command decisions are strongly influenced, often determined, by the latest estimates of the enemy's strength. This is mirrored in the War Game. Results of battles are fed back in suitably edited form to each set of players by assistant umpires, using telephone links between the main model room and the separate players' rooms, where logs are maintained and maps kept up to date.

Even so, in the comparatively short real time available - some 16 hours - it is impossible to go into great detail. (*f) How much worse must have been the problem facing the organisers of the few War Games that were held by the Germans in 1940. Because of the dangers of having many high-ranking officers in one place for long, they only lasted a single morning, and only covered aspects of *Sealion*, not the whole air, land and sea operation. We take the division (of some 12,000 men) as our basic land formation, while in the air squadrons, rather than single aircraft, are dealt with. Thus (*g) German minefields sink several British destroyers as they speed past Ramsgate to intercept the invasion fleet on the morning of September 22.

Nonetheless, the broad picture is clear. The German stormtroops, not least the 17th *Sturmbock* - or 'Battering Ram' - Division who landed at Hythe, are rapidly establishing themselves. The beachheads rapidly expand round Hythe, Dungeness, Rye, Pevensey and Seaford. The British Home Forces Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Alan Brooke, orders port installations and cranes at Dover, Folkestone and Newhaven to be blown up. It is crucial to deny the invaders the use of proper port facilities. Sir Alan Brooke's aides are constantly on the telephone organising rail and road transport for the move south of more Divisions from the Midlands and Scotland. At Headquarters Southern Command, Brooke's subordinate, Lieutenant-General Auchinleck, issues a Special Order of the Day - one genuinely issued by him in September, 1940. It ends, 'To those in front line positions I say Hang on... to those in reserve Push on.' But increasingly both are pushed back.

A German glider-borne battalion's attempt to capture Hawkinge airfield, up on the hills behind Folkestone, particularly excites the umpires. The airfield is defended by two battalions of the First London Division, beefed up with 48 Vickers machine guns. Hawkinge is taken when the paratroops who went in earlier link up with the glider-borne battalion in a thrust to encircle Folkestone. General Galland adds the rider that

with the RAF so active the *Luftwaffe* would not risk using Hawkinge as a base. Capturing Folkestone harbour is the vital move.

The second real day of the game sees us at mid-morning on September 22. Brooke is demanding 'What I want to know is how they are getting through the beach defences so fast?' Brooke will now have to rely on mobile columns to intercept the German advance inland. Around mid-morning, too, Peace Terms are received from Hitler via the neutral Swedish Government. They offer an immediate armistice in return for British recognition of all German conquests in Britain, including the Channel Islands. Churchill rejects them.

But the invaders now hold a long band of coastline from Rye to Hythe, extending eight miles inland. The fall of Folkestone seems imminent. Bitter fighting at Newhaven has not regained the port. As more British troops pour south, Brooke goes firm on a new defensive line, naturally named the Winston Line. It runs from near Folkestone, inland past Ashford, then west along the ridge that carries the A265 to Heathfield and so on to Newhaven. It must be held at all costs.

By now this increasingly complex battle scene is demanding all the skill of bearded Paddy Griffith, the organiser, in guiding the umpires on to the key decision. When play reaches the morning of September 23, some perspective begins to emerge. The first wave got across far better than the German navy ever thought it would in 1940. But another fear has been realised. Neither submarines nor fast torpedo boats nor minefields nor the *Luftwaffe* have been able to keep the Royal Navy out of the Channel, while part of the Home Fleet is still *en route* there. The air superiority which Goering always promised Hitler, and which had been a precondition of *Sealion*, has not been achieved. The *Luftwaffe* has lost 281 aircraft against the RAF's 133. In supporting the landings, especially those furthest west, the *Luftwaffe*'s Me 109s run short of fuel. By contrast the RAF is fighting at home. Meanwhile a second German diversionary attack, this time trying to block the docks at Hartlepool, is a failure.

But in the land battle September 23 shows the German army rapidly expanding its bridgeheads. Most important, the New Zealanders defending Folkestone are forced out. More ground is gained round Pevensey. Only at Newhaven is there a reverse. Australian troops make unloading on the German-held side impossible.

RAF reconnaissance planes report that the second echelon of the invasion fleet is loading in the French ports.

However, the Royal Navy is now moving down in strength. At 13.00 hours, the 16th Destroyer Flotilla and several more ships steam into the Western Channel. In a subsequent battle off Cherbourg the *Kriegsmarine* lose three destroyers and seven torpedo boats for one British loss. Meanwhile mass formations of *Luftwaffe* dive bombers fail to locate other ships of the Home Fleet off East Anglia. At neither end

of the Channel can a clear passage be assured for the barges and steamers tonight. The weather begins to deteriorate.

There is now a dramatic difference between the two sides' view of the battle. The British are still frantically reinforcing their Winston Line against further German assaults, albeit aware of the Navy's growing dominance of the Channel. Superficially the German army commander, with 60,750 men ashore, is going strong. But in fact that number represents a loss of one third of his original landing strength, and they cannot long survive without supplies and the arrival of badly needed artillery due with the next wave of 63,000 men.

The Game has now reached the exact situation that the *Sealion* planners and particularly Grand Admiral Raeder, C-in-C of the German Navy, feared in 1940. The autumn weather and the Royal Navy are making resupply of the invasion forces difficult, while the massive counterbalance of air superiority has not been achieved.

That same evening, September 23, at the nightly Fuehrer Conference, all three of the German players advise a withdrawal. The forecast is for better weather next day, but that means a daylight crossing under murderous naval and RAF fire. A tempestuous scene finished up with the Fuehrer ordering the assassination of Winston Churchill.

The umpires take a unanimously jaundiced view of the likelihood of an assassination squad parachuting into Hyde Park and finding Churchill, let alone killing him. 'There were several dummy Churchills about anyway,' someone mentions. The mission fails. Early next morning, September 24, the amazed British General Staff receive Intelligence reports of German troops disembarking from barges at Ostend. Disembarking. In fact, during the night all the second echelon transports have been emptied in preparation for a desperate attempt to achieve a Dunkirk in reverse.

The idea of a withdrawal provokes intense discussion among the umpires. Galland, normally loyal to the effectiveness of airpower, suggests that 'the effect of air attacks on ships was extremely low'. Foxley-Norris agrees that in a Spitfire it was surprisingly difficult to shoot up a ship. But the Royal Navy's destroyers would make mincemeat of the barges. Trettner says, 'I prefer to stay in England.' Galland interjects again - 'Hitler would sacrifice these men in order not to lose any more.'

Bearing what happened in Stalingrad in mind, this is probably correct. Nonetheless the success of a withdrawal is debated. Ruge thinks only a few thousand men would get back. Foxley-Norris hands the pack to Trettner, 'Cut the cards, they're your troops.' Trettner cuts nine and four. So 9,400 men are saved through Folkestone, which the Germans hold to the last. 'By E-boat and fast minesweeper you could get quite a lot back,' adds Ruge. 'Our evacuation across the Messina Straits in 1943 was all done at dusk and at dawn.' This time Ruge cuts the cards, saving a further 6,600 men over 48 hours from various beaches.

The final conclusion is that the British capture some 32,000 prisoners, though fighting continues in pockets of resistance until September 28.

So after a week it was all over. *Sealion* had failed. Except for the decision to withdraw, which they thought would not have been taken until at least a day later, the umpires' final summing up concluded that the verdict was broadly correct. 'Without air superiority such operations are impossible,' asserted Trettner.

But it was the good humoured Admiral Ruge who had the definitive last word on the *Sealion* War Game. 'It was most interesting,' he said. 'Perhaps now we should do one on your D-Day landings to see if they succeeded.' (*h)

*** My Personal (2009) Notes on 'The Invaders Reach Berkshire':-**

- a) For the record, my personally invited team of 'umpires of first recourse' consisted of Andy Callan, John Davis, Michael Orr, Dennis Barr, Nigel de Lee and Tony Thomas. This happy band took 'orders' from the playing teams, and usually fed back routine 'reports' locally, without referring them upwards for higher adjudication by the prestigious team of international generals & admirals. That happened only when contentious or controversial issues arose that the 'prestigious team' could constructively debate.
- b) The large floor model of Kent was not in any way necessary for the game (although it was wonderful for press photographers!); nor was I seriously consulted over either its creation or use. On the day of the game its mere existence had the instant, deeply unfortunate, effect of revealing to the British team that the invasion would certainly land in Kent rather than East Anglia, Iceland - or wherever else the umpire team had been trying hard to make the Germans' deception plans sound convincing...
- c) I might have been 'young' in 1974 - but alas I no longer am!
- d) Note that in real life the Luftwaffe had switched to blitzing London on 7 September 1940, thereby giving the RAF a fortnight's respite from direct attack before 22 September - which is when my 'invasion' in the 1974 game was launched. But in that game the Blitz did not take place, so the RAF was 'hammered' through all those two weeks. By contrast in my 2009 Duxford game the London Blitz did take place historically; but I launched the invasion just three days later, on 10 September. These timings left the RAF with only three days' respite from heavy bombing; but at least it wasn't being 'hammered' during that time. Thus in 2009 my RAF was actually considerably stronger on 'Sealion Day' than it had been in 1974!
- e) That should read '60,000 men', rather than '90,000'.

- f) Compare the Duxford 'Sealion', when we had less than four hours!
- g) I am sure that Richard Cox would agree with me that the second half of this paragraph is a 'non sequitur'. Somewhere in the editing some words must have been lost that said something like '...At sea the unit was a squadron / flotilla of ships. However, in all these cases the losses to the higher formation could still be expressed in terms of individual lower units - ie specific numbers of battalions, aircraft or ships. Thus...'
- h) What Ruge ACTUALLY said about his proposed 1944 D-Day landings game was '... to see if they would succeed, IF Rommel's proposed redeployment of the Panzers close to the beaches had been allowed by higher authority.'

- 'Bearded' PG

Appendix II: Autobiographical Thoughts of an E-mail Gamer

by Paddy Griffith (written September 2007)

Over the past four years I have tried to relieve my *ennui* (at the same time as [successfully] weaning myself off my damaging *Civ One* addiction) by running and / or playing in a long series of hand-crafted and home-made e-mail games. I find that I have been living out a rare and concentrated experience of wargaming mixed with creative writing. Whether as umpire or player, I find that the demands of these games always involve a wide use of the imagination plus lots of typing. Quite where that leaves me today I do not really know - but I'd like to think I am 'a better person' as a result of it all. I also think I'm now in a position to look back over the whole thing and consider it as a whole.

To set the scene I should start by listing the games I'm talking about. Please note that these games are defined as having no personal face-to-face contact in them, which excludes a number of other somewhat similar games that I have played during the same period, most notably a couple of Rich Madder's memorable games set in *Vulgaria*, which were played at his house. They were admittedly pre-briefed by e-mail: but they were each played in person over about a 6-hour period. Not even the fastest e-mail game can get everything done and dusted within such a short time (although the list below includes several that were finished within a month).

1) The first game*, which was my great inspiration to start on this path, was the wonderful **'Soissons 1801' Game** (Summer 2003) designed and run by Rich Madder (who was thus my first 'GHU'). This was based on a loosely fictionalised version of the 1814 campaign, in which I played the French against Martin James' Prussians. Apart from the novelty (to me) of playing by e-mail, a massive extra novelty was the fact that Rich provided us with electronic copies (on CD delivered by snail mail) of the original 18th century *Carte de France*, by the great Cassini. Thus we were using a truly authentic primary source as the basis of the game, which gave it a great deal of excellent 'period flavour' - even if the map itself was transmitted by highly anachronistic electronic means!

* Well it was almost my first - I had previously tried out an 'SAS in Libya 1941' game with Rich Madder as the only player, but it had, alas, been abortive.

2) The **'Vosges 1799' Game** (Winter 2003-4) (See Chapter 5, above): After Soissons I looked more widely around the Cassini map, and lit

upon Alsace as an interesting theatre of war, so I designed and umpired the 'Vosges' game based upon a fictitious extension of Suvarov's 1799 Alpine campaign into that area. Once again Cassini worked his magic, with the added twist that several months after the game had ended, we all went off to inspect the sites in the flesh, to see how far they had changed since Cassini's day (= A rare case of a real tour of imaginary battlefields, which makes another whole subject-area in itself. I suppose I could write a whole book about all that - but for present purposes I guess I should say no more about it).

3) **The 'Calais 1846' Game** (June 2004): Both of these first two games had taken a long realtime to run to their conclusions, so my next foray was designed to be faster and less formal. Martin James had originally been thinking of running (in October 2004) a game based on the ACW, but set in France in 1859, albeit still using the Cassini map. Unfortunately this hit so many buttons with me (Both the ACW and the mid-19th century French military are my special subjects) that I am afraid I swamped him with my own ideas, and was impatient to start much earlier than October. I fear I rudely elbowed him out of his own game, and acted as GHU for him as the player, in my 'Calais 1846' version of it. Unlike the previous two games, this had one GHU and just one player, and it seemed to work fairly well. However, in retrospect (*see various discussions of pros and cons below*) I have now concluded that this is probably not really a robust format. Admittedly it can sometimes work extremely well - but I'd estimate that there will always be a 50-50 chance of failure, whereas with multi-player games the chance of total failure seems to be rather less.

4) **The 'Catfish 1760 Game'** (September 2004): Also with one GHU (as Adml. Pugwash) and just one player (= still Martin James, as Adml. Catfish), following straight on from the 'Calais' game, and - although I guess I shouldn't say so myself - I think it worked particularly well. Perhaps the limit of 100 words per communication helped to speed it along! It was a sort of 1760s version of the Trafalgar campaign, which set me off on a 'Napoleonic Naval' train of thought that would last for an inordinately long time. Note also that by this time the Cassini map was no longer being seen as essential to these games: and very few visual aids were provided by the GHU until a bit of e-mail illustration appeared during the final battle off Cadiz.

5) **The 'Lavage 1680' Game** (Started October 2004): Martin's riposte was his own (typically) extremely well researched naval game set in the splendidly fictitious 1680 War of Convolution. He was the GHU and I was the only player - the hen-pecked (By the Minister of Marine, Jean Baptiste Colgate) French admiral commanding in the Mediterranean. He provided his own maps by e-mail. I thought it worked very well

indeed, once all the (hundreds of) ships had been individually named, and it taught me an enormous number of things about the 17th century that I had not previously understood: a wonderful experience.

6) The 'Fitztoaster 1928' Game (Started February 2005) with Andy Grainger leading the Kurds and Adam Poole as the British Army commander in northern Iraq. (Hard copy maps were supplied by snail mail). Readers will be right if they think that this game might perhaps have certain 'contemporary resonances'. Equally they will be unsurprised to hear that it was as complicated as it was indecisive. The British were thinking in months while the Kurds were thinking in centuries, which was 'asymmetrical' at best, and 'bad game design' at worst. I still think it's a game (including a basic scenario populated with dozens of interesting - mostly Non Played - characters) that should be taken up and continued to a proper decision sometime by someone...

7) The 'Bathtub 1789' Game (Starting October 2005 and continuing well into the summer of '06) came as a spinoff from my cruising season with *Voyages of Discovery*, in which I made three maritime ventures into the Mediterranean, between September '05 and April '06. As part of my role as a lecturer on a cruise liner I had (unprompted) set myself the secondary task of running map wargames that were relevant to the themes of my talks. The first of them - as we sailed south from Cadiz - was based on the Trafalgar campaign, or in other words it was an extension of my earlier 'Catfish' e-mail game with Martin. This was the 'Bathtub' game, which I later re-translated back into an e-mail version. It also drew lessons from Martin's 'Lavage' game:-

By comparison with earlier games, this one would have a 'cast of thousands'. Apart from myself as GHU, the Spanish were played by Martin James (as Adml Tortilla), Peter McManus (as Adml.Molar), and John Poole (as Adml.Gambas). The French were Tim Cockitt (as Pissaladière) and Adam Poole (as Lavage), while the Americans were represented by the inimitable Howie Muir. Andy Grainger was thus somewhat outnumbered, as the British Adml. Bathtub himself. On the Visual Aids front, I would like to claim that I did rather well with my computerised diagrams of the battles, as did Andy. There came a point at which we were exchanging at least half of the key information each turn by such charts, rather than by writing.

Against all this, the problem with a 7-person game is that it will always take a very long realtime to collect orders from all the admirals. Any multi-player game will always inevitably go much slower than a one-player game (ie typically 1 turn per 10 days rather than as many as 3 turns per day), simply because the convoy has to go as slowly as the slowest ship (Or at least the slowest ship that the convoy isn't prepared to abandon to the U-boats / Sharks. As a GHU, I am increasingly coming to the opinion that rather more of my slow ships

should be so abandoned than I used to think... I am increasingly learning the art of fudging for players who forget to reply to any given turn).

8) The 'Mare Nostrum' 1940 OB Game (Started early August 2006): After 'Bathtub' I was looking for something less grandiose, at the same time as I was contemplating writing an 'Osprey' on desert tactics 1940-43 (now thankfully completed). I believe that one of the main determinants of desert tactics was the relative OBs of the two sides, or in other words the administrative configuration of each division tends to determine the way it fights. This game was therefore designed in two phases: first each side's high command (ie Martin James as Graziani and John Armatys as Wavell) would lay out OBs for four types of division (ie Armoured, Motorised, Infantry and Cavalry if they wanted any). Then the two players would plan and fight a campaign using these organisations (which meant that John Wavell was magically demoted down to be John O'Connor, while the GHU became Wavell). The game progressed in an orderly manner as planned, and as far as I can see it delivered what it was supposed to.

9) The 'Black Isle' Magical Viking Game, set in the fifth year of the reign of King Magnus One-Arm of Møre (Started late August 2006): (See Chapter 6, above). This was a new departure insofar as it was designed to be a game between the umpire (= me) and a single player (= Captain of the *Sea Slug* longship); but with the added complication that there were actually six different players each playing the same role simultaneously...

10) The 'KGB 1960' Game (October 2006): This was 'something completely different' yet again (except insofar as it was located in the frozen North). It was set in late 1960 in Moscow, with me as GHU and Ned Zuparko (the only player) representing the chief of the KGB, Josef Zuparkov. As a game it failed dismally, since I never could work out what sort of decisions I was looking for from my player. Was he supposed to interrogate James Bond personally (who would then inevitably escape and blow up the secret base anyway), or was he supposed to master-mind the Cuban revolution or the building of the Aswan dam? Bad game design. Sorry about that. However I like to think that both Ned and I gained an interesting insight into the way the world looked from the perspective of Moscow in late 1960, before the many benefits of Western First World hindsight had come along to cloud our memories. In particular it struck me that the world was already a FAR more unstable & dangerous place in 1960 than it would become during the more famous Cuban Missile Crisis of '62. In fact the Cuban Missile Crisis came as rather a relief to everyone, since it showed that both sides had at last learned some sort of moderation.

But its memory has clouded the much deeper terror that had hung over the world during the previous few years.

11) The 'Riders of the Purple Sage 1870' Game (Started November 2006): As a radical antidote to the USSR we now moved way out West - specifically to the small New Mexico town of Broken Wheel which, as you will know, lies somewhere south of Denver, north of El Paso, west of Amarillo and east of Albuquerque. I was the GHU: Malcolm Waite was the sheriff, Steve Connelly was the bandit, and Guy Farrish led the Injuns. By the end of the game half the town had been burned down and many folks lay dead; but all the players had more or (mostly) less achieved their victory conditions. I like to think that a good time was had by all...

12) The 'Brigadier Burlington 1863' Game (Started March 2007): This was set in the freezing Arkansas January of 1863. Martin James, as GHU, had deeply researched the real situation there at that time although, from my perspective playing a Confederate cavalry officer (I was the only player), it looked absolutely disastrous! As a dashing self-taught brigadier of mounted troops, and future founder of the KKK, I determined to cut the Gordian knot by attacking à l'outrance - which turned out to be diametrically the wrong policy in a blizzard. I ought to have been a little less self-taught! Anyway, this game came to a rapid end as practically all my men (and perhaps more importantly my Indian allies) froze, mutinied or simply deserted. A total débâcle.

13) The 'Keystone Cops 1926' Game (Started April 2007): Also out West, and also involving the KKK, this game is set in a small town near Los Angeles in 1926. I am the GHU for seven players, representing a local Pastor doubling as the Napoleon of Crime: the Keystone Police Department's chief investigator; his immediate boss: the DA: the Mayor, and a couple of small time crooks operating under the cover of reputable businesses. The game is already complicated enough, what with all these variously diverse types of player, as well as a host of NPCs: but for me it is made even more complicated by the self-imposed task of producing a glossy newspaper (ie the world-famous *Keystone Daily Bugler*; probably even more famous in its day than the *San Jose Mercury News*?) at the start of each turn. I have been greatly helped in this by Ned Zuparko, whose legendary energy in all these games has reached new heights this time, supplying me with a fantastic library of period photographs and lots of other relevant material. As I write this the game is coming to a close, and we are entering the de-brief phase.

ADDENDA: 14) After finishing this text in September '07 I immediately launched into the somewhat over-ambitious '**Tarragona 1810**' siege

game, which would drag on until early July '08, with what I perceived as an increasing flight of players and enthusiasm from the game. This was a particularly long game - doubtless reflecting the inner nature of siege operations - made doubly complicated by the fact that (very much like its predecessor the 'Keystone Cops' game) [a] It had 6 players and [b] Each player had a very different type of personal game objective.

Ned Zuparko was Commodore Yates - the British naval commander whose main aim was to buy Tarragona Red wine for his brother's wine lodges in UK. Malcolm Waite was General Blanco del Uevo - the Tarragona fortress commander, whose task was to hold the fortress. Howard Whitehouse was Mayor Bocarillo - who represented the civilian and political interests of the city's population, but who was eventually KIA by a French shell. Howie Muir was Marshal Betterave de Fourragère - commanding the French army investing the fortress, but who eventually found he could not envisage manoeuvres in the open field. Rich Madder was General Merlot - the leading Division commander in the French camp, but who artfully and deliberately went mad as the siege progressed. Last but not least, Andy Grainger was General Pescadore y Merluza - commanding the Spanish relief army coming initially through Tortosa (SW of Tarragona); but then wandering tantalysingly widely all over the area, to finally attack the French from the north of Tarragona, to win the campaign!

I felt that this game suffered from some sloppy briefing & game-envisioning by myself, as game designer and GHU; from an unexpectedly high level of apparent ignorance about Napoleonic siege operations on the part of some players, and - well - a few other bad things besides. Overall, it failed to set the river Francoli ablaze, although I am particularly grateful to Andy Grainger for understanding the inner nature of Spanish field armies about 1810...

15) Then when 'Tarragona' finished it was immediately replaced by '**Barbarossa 1941**' (See Chapter 4, above).]

Those, then, are the games. What generalisations can I draw from them (or impose upon them)? Firstly, they have taught me to be leery of (or at least 'selective about') games with a GHU and only one player. This arrangement seems to put too much importance upon a single one-to-one meeting of minds and personalities which, if it doesn't happen to spark, can rapidly lead to disaster. If there are two or more players I think the umpire is necessarily forced to define their aims and victory conditions more carefully, both before he starts and then constantly as play progresses. This, I think applied even to the 'Black Isle' Viking game, where all the players had been given exactly the same character. Also, of course, the more players there are, the more they will generate fresh perspectives (sometimes including colourful

NPCs of their own) for the GHU to feed back into the game. Also, with more players there is more scope for some of them to fall by the wayside without wrecking the game as a whole. Such falling from grace may happen for any one of a dozen possible reasons, some of which may be a matter of *force majeure* (eg moving house or suffering medical problems); others of which may be their own fault (eg incomprehension or laziness); while others yet again may be directly attributable to the GHU's poor game design, poor briefing, poor decision making or simply just his obviously unsuitable personality for the job.

Games with just one player will always be superficially attractive to GHUs, since they seem to promise less work to process in each turn. Even with two players there will always be an extra task of comparing their two 'live' inputs with each other's - and of course with 7 players this task is ostensibly multiplied 6 times over. By contrast if there is only one player his 'live' inputs will have to be compared only with the totally-controlled actions of the NPCs and other sprites that exist only in the GHU's (often overheated) imagination. Nevertheless I believe that it is precisely the act of pitting one played character against another that creates at least half the interest of such gaming, although I admit that the basic scenario and the background mood music go a long way too. But then again we must add that even with only one player the GHU will still not have descended into the onanistic depths of 'Solo Wargaming' (such as eg playing *Civ One* against the computer). Even with one player, e-mail gaming remains a social activity, often with plenty of laughs.

One of the many joys of my four-year exploration of this format has been the large number of excellent people with whom I have been able to interact, many of whom I would not normally have had much need to contact. Overall I find that about twenty people have been involved. It turns out that I have known most of them for over 20 years (mainly through 'Wargame Developments') - and I first met Steve Connelly, Jeff Fletcher, Peter McManus and Malcolm Waite while I was still at school! However, a few had been unknown to me when I started off in 2003 (not least Martin James and Andrew Roberts).

As I intimated at the start of this piece, another of the great joys of e-mail gaming is its requirement for creative writing. I know this is not really the *forte* of some of the players; but speaking personally it is one of the things in life that I treasure most. I like to think that my professional career is based on a 'creative' style for interpreting military history (although not I hope quite as mendaciously as the sister phrase 'creative accounting' might imply). Like many millions of others I also harbour an ambition to write interesting and even amusing fiction

(although, in common with most of the aforesaid millions, to date I have never managed to write more than the first page of any of my numerous best-selling novels). Writing for the e-mail game format seems to be something of a happy halfway house between these two, since it is all entirely fiction - and yet it also has to obey certain disciplines associated with game mechanics as well as with a level of historical accuracy. It also has to undergo 'peer review' by the other participants in the game. No novelist is forced to submit his scribblings to peer review on a daily basis, before he finally tries to sell his completed text to a publisher; yet in these e-mail games at least one pair of eyes will scan everything you write on each turn as it happens.

In each of these games you enter a whole new world of the imagination especially since, as with all historical pursuits, 'The past is a foreign country'. Anyone who contemplates it in any way at all (including through fictitious games) immediately experiences the same suspension of everyday normality as a tourist feels when he visits an unfamiliar location abroad. These games are also usually set in fascinating alien landscapes which you cannot (or would not want to) occupy in real life - The heaving waves of the Atlantic Ocean (upon which the crews of small sailing vessels tend to 'heave' to the same rhythm as nature herself); The haunting wind-flailed snowfields of Arkansas in January; The sweaty backstreets of Kirkuk under the midday sun; The quaint but oddly familiar ancient France as pictured on the Cassini map. Our Californian readers may object that they live only ten miles down the road from a town that still looks very like 'Keystone': to which I have to refer them back to the thought with which I started this paragraph (Certainly many of the photos published in *The Keystone Daily Bugler* seem very out of date to the modern eye. They were, after all, taken 80 years ago!).

Then these landscapes have to be populated by an equally fascinating mass of imaginary characters (mostly unplayed 'NPCs'), each one of whom is a minor joy in his or her own right. Their structural roles in the game vary greatly, from the very central to the utterly peripheral, and from the great warrior all the way through to the farmer's wife, the wardroom waiter and the court jester. In the Vosges I seem to remember that Martin even kept a pet ram that soon came to take on horrific mythical dimensions. This is indeed the stuff of great drama! Merely the names of the characters are sometimes enough to evoke their entire personality (and the same, incidentally, goes for the names of ships. Martin and I enjoyed a long-running and very amusing game of inventing almost-but-not-quite appropriate names for all of our very many 'naval units operating in the air-sea interface'...). At the SAGSET conference in 2007 I actually heard it laid down by a learned authority that the choice of names in pedagogical roleplaying scenarios is crucial to the way participants view any given character - eg the

preconceptions felt towards someone with the game name 'Adolf' might be very different from those towards someone called 'Theresa'... and so on (I could also wax lyrical about the whole art and science of writers who adopt pseudonyms - but I suspect that Randy Foster would stop talking to me if I did).

At this point I should note that there is an important structural difference between two distinct types of game. Some ("more traditional") games are focussed upon the moment-by-moment decision-making by particular commanders or staff officers who are operating within a formal and rigid hierarchy (as in eg 'Soissons', 'The Vosges', 'Lavage', 'Bathtub' or 'Mare Nostrum' - although in that last case the hierarchy was slightly odd since players had to occupy two different levels of it at different phases in the game). In such games the exact chronology, or definition of 'Critical Events', may quickly become central to the whole action, so that it will be essential for players to respond in good time to each changing situation they receive. Equally their NPCs will be more like chess pieces to be moved around without much chance for them to answer back in any significant way. Yet against this there are other games which try to lay out a whole society in all its sprawling complexity, in which formal hierarchies are (to say the least) blurred - as in a soap opera. No one quite knows what they are supposed to do or exactly what limits are set upon the free expression of their pursuit of happiness. In this type of game ('Keystone Cops' springs immediately to mind as the extreme case) there will be a whole mess of conflicting hierarchies: the Police hierarchy, the Criminal Justice hierarchy (incl. both DA and Judge), the Church hierarchy (and then you have to ask exactly which church?), the Elected Representatives hierarchy, the Press Relations hierarchy, the Baseball hierarchy, the Commercial hierarchy, the Gun-toting hierarchy, the Booze-selling hierarchy, and so on and on. Thus it will not actually matter for the health of the game as a whole if any one particular player fails to respond to the particular 'Critical Event' that has been posed for him in any given turn. The important thing is that the virtual community continues to go marching on... (which in the case of Keystone it has just now stopped doing, since 3 of the 7 players have indirectly indicated that they want to leave the game, while 2 of the others have accidentally taken decisions that turn out to have been suicidal - and all on the same turn).

There are, of course, many games that fall somewhere between these two poles. For example I rashly entered the 'Brigadier Burlington' game expecting it to be the first (strictly hierarchical) type: but I discovered to my cost that it actually lay rather closer to the second (sprawling soap opera) type. Another example might be the 'Fitztoaster' game, where neither side (each with his own fairly well defined command hierarchy) knew exactly what they were up against, while the GHU was trying to

populate the whole place with lots of confusing and distracting NPCs - not least the RAF! (*Does this description fit the RAF throughout its history, I naughtily ask?*)

Beyond such technical distinctions and minutiae, however, my overwhelming impression of this series of games is that they have been extraordinarily rich in new (to me) historical information; in all sorts of stimulating speculations and imaginings; in opportunities for self expression, and in most welcome (to a self employed person who works alone in his office) camaraderie.

Will I wish to participate in future e-mail games of this type? Very Definitely! And in particular I look forward to being recruited as a player by the next GHU who has a game that will carry me to strange landscapes where I can meet all sorts of fascinating imaginary people. Will it be you?

Finally, I want to express my gratitude to all who took part in any of the games described above, and especially to the essential handful of activists.

Here are a couple of reactions that I received to the above essay:

Howie Muir said:-

"Curiously, in view of your considerations of Player versus NPC issues, I never felt compelled to figure the distinction out, during the game, or to be concerned about it; there were no grounds apparent to me for caring, really: all the characters encountered were simply part of the world. Whether they had a player behind them or not didn't enter into the scales for me. After all, played or not, any character could be lethal or beneficial in some way. Moreover, I am not sure even now that knowing which was which would or could have made any effective difference.

I'm intrigued by your differentiation of game types into the 'hierarchical' and 'environmental arrangements'. Yet, in either, each participant requires one or more objectives, purposes for their existence and goads to their actions within the world each inhabits... not unlike real circumstances. And, not unlike reality, there are hurdles and obstacles to be encountered, crossed, or faltered at. And, sometimes, the objectives are at cross-purposes, requiring an

awkward choice or balancing act. From my years as an actor, I have learned that all of these are at work in any good theatrical piece. And often one of those hurdles is a lack of perceived time (not enough of it), which lends urgency to situations and choices, and often telescopes events into otherwise impossibly short packages – time (or sense of its insufficiency) often drives a play or film's story.

Traditional wargame structures incorporate all this pretty overtly, and so players slip into the world readily able to identify driving imperatives, appreciate the potential time limits, and able to determine where they fit in the hierarchy.

The looser, environmental games, like the 'Vikings' and 'Keystone', pose the correlations in an interestingly different way, but there is still the same correlation. The lack of overt structure and game hierarchy makes the identification of objectives, obstacles, and timing rather fuzzier. My impression is that such games may offer this information with less clarity and urgency than the traditional format, while at the same time leaving more open to the creative or interactional impulses of the participant. Not least, I think it puts a very heavy burden on the GHU to manage a vastly more open-ended process, so I can appreciate that the GHU might have to find ways to impose limits, and fence in the world to some degree!"

Ian Greenwood wrote:-

"...I suppose the first question I found myself asking was: in what lay the difference between e mail games and the sort of postal games you were playing in the 1980s?... I'm really asking whether email games qualify as an immeasurable improvement on a venerable wargame structure, eg using the old postal method of communication; or are they in any way a new genre? Whatever the case, they seem to have given you an ongoing form of entertainment and communication, which must be all to the good."

To which I replied:-

"Yup they're a big improvement, but not really conceptually different, or a new genre. The fact that I've done 13 in 4 years shows how fast they can be processed."

Appendix III: 'Alternative History'

- a few thoughts by Paddy Griffith

A major theme that runs all through this book, and the games it contains, is the (sometimes brutal) question 'What If?'

What if the Germans had tried to invade Britain in the autumn of 1940? What if they had been defeated by the New Zealanders on Crete in 1941? What if they had adopted more effective strategies for defeating the Russians later in that same year? What if Suvarov had invaded Alsace in 1799? - and what if, ultimately, Hagrid Buttafinga had really discovered that 'Distant Cathay' was actually located in Newfoundland during the fifth year of the reign of Earl Magnus one-arm of Møre? These are all heavy questions that should exercise the minds of serious historians... or at least some of them should.

Such questions are so heavy and serious that they have spawned a whole *genre* of literature that goes back well over a century; (51) but which has seen a very energetic boost in the past decade or two. It is now called 'Alternate' ('Hypothetical' or 'Counter-Factual') History, and it has many diverse manifestations. One of them may be seen in the wargames in the present book; but more 'literary' examples can be found in many more prestigious publications. Of course 'historical fiction' has always been full of such questions: but in modern times there has been a rush of works with a much more specific and directly 'alternate' focus. (52)

In the introduction to his book *What Might Have Been* (53), Andrew Roberts makes the very pertinent point that some serious historians seem to scoff at 'alternate history' as little more than unsubstantiated speculative rubbish, even though they simultaneously fail to understand what it is all about. I have personally encountered a similar scepticism against wargaming by certain highly decorated and well informed personages who, alas, do not seem to have even the first clue about what the activity is all about.

I nevertheless persist in my belief that some form of questioning about alternative outcomes or 'What ifs?' - whether by wargaming or otherwise - should always be central to any serious historical discussion.

*I know that history at all times draws
The strangest consequences from remotest cause.*" (54)

In the 17th century Blaise Pascal shrewdly stated that 'If the nose of Cleopatra had been a centimetre longer, the whole face of the world would have been changed'. This conveys the essential truth that big events are sometimes decided by very small events that might easily

have turned out differently. Unless you are a total determinist who believes that nothing can possibly stand in the way of what Tolstoy called the 'locomotive of history', which puffs on remorselessly along its pre-laid tracks, you surely have to accept that history moves erratically from one cross-roads to another. At each one there are choices that might well go either way, depending on very small influences. Hitler MIGHT have decided to launch Operation Sealion in September 1940, and he MIGHT have organised full Ukrainian independence in the autumn of 1941, thereby swinging a huge (and willing) segment of the Soviet population against Stalin. In both cases it is 'historical' to record that in fact he didn't do those things: but it is equally 'historical' to remember that he might easily have done so and, if he had, to look into whatever subsequent crossroads he might then have encountered.

It can be argued that Military History is considerably more dependent on small 'What ifs' than any other type of History. Battles may be decided in half a day, upon the single decision of one man, whereas Industrial Revolutions may take centuries and the decisions of thousands of key actors. The timescales are glaringly different - and therefore the potential effect of small influences will be dramatically different in each case. But from my perspective there seem to be very few Military History decisions that might not have gone a different way.

I have also discovered that it takes rather more historical research to write 'alternate history' than it does to write 'real history'. The reason is that all existing history books will already, by definition, have concentrated on the facts and implications of what really happened, so anyone who comes fresh to the subject will have most of the necessary research already laid out before them. If they want to write their own version of the story, they will find most of what they need already to hand. By contrast, if they want to write an 'alternate' version of the history, they will have to look into all sorts of other facts and figures that no one had previously thought to be relevant. As an example, when I wrote an 'alternate' version of the French landings in Bantry Bay in December 1796, (55) I found an exciting narrative in the history books - but it stopped abruptly once the few French troops who ventured ashore had retreated hastily to their ships. It did not explain what might have happened if the entire army of 15,000 men had managed to land and start a march on Dublin. What route might they have taken? What opposition might they have encountered? and where? - and when? There was a great mass of detail that I had to find out for myself, starting from scratch, that had not previously been presented to the student in an accessible manner. Yet this was precisely the sort of detail that all students of the campaign OUGHT to have been given, if they were to see exactly what was at stake. If only they had been given that essential detail, they would have understood immediately that a successful invasion of Ireland in 1796 might well have spelled the end not only of the Anglo-French war - but even of the whole British Empire as it was known at the time. As Pascal would say, 'The whole face of the world would have been changed'.

From an academic point of view I would say that 'alternate history' can and should be no less rigorous than 'real history'; and it can often illuminate 'real history' in a way that more traditional historiographical methods simply do not. The same, incidentally, is also true of wargames - ie they will always naturally raise many questions that conventional historians do not ask, after which the quality of the answers will depend entirely on the quality of the research underlying the game design.

It is the duty of anyone who writes or runs a game to respect historical realities as authentically as possible. Even if the whole point of the game is to change history and ask a 'What if?' question, the game should still proceed in a realistic way. Troop units should move at believable speeds and in a believable way. Messages should be passed between players in the correct manner, and combats should be resolved according to the tactical realities of their time. Every effort should be made to pose players with the true problems and decisions that their historical prototypes would have faced.

This still holds true even when (as in the 'Black Isle Magical Viking Game') the reality being modelled is itself a fictitious one. We can agree that in actual history there was no such thing as a dragon snoring in its cave on top of a pile of gemstones and gold; yet in the sagas it is not impossible to encounter such a phenomenon. Therefore if the game is designed around the realities portrayed in the sagas - and a new saga is to be written at the end of the game - then dragons are perfectly OK. The 'historical truth' to be respected is a literary and fictitious one, rather than a strictly historical one. (56)

Appendix IV: The 1814 Campaign - The Strategic Statistics

by Paddy Griffith

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(The author apologises that when he originally wrote this piece he had not yet fully realised that the despicable Corsican ogre should always be referred to as 'Bonaparte' rather than by his personally self-preening affectation of 'Napoleon'.)

The 1814 campaign in the Champagne area of France has fascinated me for a long time, as a wargamer, because it has a reputation for tactical brilliance on the part of Napoleon - and yet it is very little known. For some reason the majority of wargamers prefer the turgid massacres of the 1813 operations in Germany to the witty counter-marching of the following year. There is a feeling that Leipzig was "the" decisive battle of the Napoleonic Wars. But in fact, of course, it was really Craonne.

1814 has other points of interest. The battles were of "wargame" size at around 10 - 20,000 men per side. In some of them (wonder of wonders) that famous wargamers' myth of the "all-guard army" actually appeared in reality (*Craonne itself is an example*). Also the area itself is delightful to walk over and its wines and cheeses are, quite literally, the best in the world. (*And today I can add: 'So are its Andouillettes'*).

On the other hand the area was NOT in any way delightful in the winter of 1814. Many awkward factors that are conventionally left out of wargames intruded massively into the evolutions of the assembled armies. The weather was so bad that the men were often literally up to their knees in mud. Guerilla warfare was practised by both sides against the lines of communication of their enemy. The passage of information - particularly on the allied side - seems to have been uniquely bad. Food was short - and on the French side, at least, there was a shortage of basic equipment such as greatcoats. And as a final unfairness, the French were desperately outnumbered. This campaign was therefore quite different from a wargame, because wargames are supposed to be 'fair' and 'equal' contests. But war in reality is never either fair or equal - especially when, as Metternich put it, "one makes it with 50,000 Bashkirs and Kalmuks".

To get the flavour of this campaign, I felt I had to make a strategic map game out of it. I therefore conducted some simple research to find out what sort of things might be expected to happen. The results are presented here, and they seem to alter a number of the basic assumptions (usually based on pure guesswork) that wargamers seem to make. As an example, Napoleon did not spend about a minute or less writing each message to his subordinate generals. Instead, he would sit down at about 3 a.m. every morning to write his orders, and on some occasions he would still be there seven hours later. Out of five occasions for which I have full details, the spread was between one and seven hours, and the average was four hours. Assuming that he had to write to five Corps commanders and two or three dozen administrators, that does not add up to very long for each letter - but the fact is surely significant that his last letter to a Corps commander might be written seven hours after the first. That makes an average of about an hour for every important letter, rather than 'a minute or two'.

Obviously as one goes down the hierarchy this 'administration' time for each level of commander becomes less - but from what evidence I have it does seem that the average time for a Corps commander to reply to Napoleon was about two hours, and could be as long as six. If there was nothing particular to report on the other hand, three days could easily pass before any news was sent. Thus both sides were frequently very much in the dark about what was going on. To make up for this, of course, there was also a vast mass of low level intelligence information coming in all the time, so although Napoleon might not know what a quarter of his army was up to, he would know a great deal about what the local peasants thought the enemy was doing. The difficulty with this was that their reports might exaggerate - not by 50%, as many wargame campaigners might think, but by 2,000% or more. Even trained cavalry scouts sometimes brought back errors of 2,000% in this way. Apparently the only way to avoid it was to stand side-on to an enemy column on the march, and count them over a bridge over a long period of time.

How long did it take for these messages to be transmitted once they had been written? I suspect that most wargamers give their couriers ideal strings of post-horses, or even semaphores, plus maps, up to date information about where the recipient could be found, and a hot dinner to boot. None of this necessarily applied in reality, and there were even cases of couriers who deserted to the enemy with their message. It was true that posts were frequently used, and that when Napoleon foresaw action in a particular direction he would have the posts in that direction specially reinforced. Equally, the more important a message, the more riders would be sent, by different routes. Total non-arrival of letters was therefore rare, although it did happen for some of the less vital items. It was far more likely that the enemy

would intercept a courier, or that a courier would be late. The average times for courier movements were as follows:-

- Up to 20 Km. distance = 6.5 Km. per hour
- Further than 20 Km. = 4 Km. per hour

There were, however, wide variations in all this: sometimes a message went at 1.3 Km. per hour, and sometimes at 12 Km. per hour. This seems to have been the spread, from 52 examples studied. It would appear that a wargame should allow for such variations, with perhaps an enemy interception for a double 6 (roll dice for each rider - ie. with multiple riders the chance of interception increases).

When we come to troop movement rates, I suspect that most wargame campaign rules are rather nearer the mark, especially for infantry. In 1814 an infantry Corps (which was really nearer a Division in strength) would average 21 Km. in a day, marching for about 8 hours with an hour or two's stop at three-quarter time. In this campaign the artillery would normally lag behind. Out of 70 examples, some Corps' marches were as little as 8 Km. in the day, while others were as much as 40 Km. This does include forced marches and night marches, which took up perhaps 10% of the total - but no more. Forced marches would be called only when there was a very urgent crisis. It should also be noted that none of these marches, whether forced or not, could be ordered at once, but required notice of between 30 minutes and two hours in normal circumstances. Also, and of particular importance to the wargamer, there were frequently stops for entire days to rest. Each rest normally lasted for one day, but sometimes could be as many as four days. On average a rest would be called perhaps once every four days.

In the case of cavalry the marching day appears to have been one or two hours shorter than for infantry, again with one or two hours for lunch. The average distance covered was 26 Km., out of 11 samples, with a variation between 16 and 35 Km. Thus cavalry did move faster - but not by all that much - than the infantry. Of course most of the scouting was done by cavalry, and this took a lot of extra time and effort which does not show up in these figures. It was not exceptional to spend the whole morning on this task, and marching only in the afternoon.

I also looked at 7 examples of movement by Napoleon's own staff, which itself must have been quite a sizeable unit. It moved in the same time as cavalry formations, but covered an average of 32 Km. in a day, varying between 24 Km. and 55 Km.. One should note that its movement was very different from that of couriers, or of detached staff officers sent out on scouting missions.

One or two other statistics may be of interest. A broken bridge was normally repaired in 36 hours, although out of 10 examples I found a spread between 8 and 96 hours. Once repaired, however, a bridge might break again later unless it was made with a proper bridging train - which few were. Destroying a bridge might take only half an hour or so, either with gunpowder charges or, for wooden bridges, with burning bundles of sticks. In either case, however, the destruction might well be incomplete, leaving an easier task for the repairer. Equally, of course, the destruction might not be commanded at all when it was needed, or it might be rushed through too soon.

Open towns, when summoned, would usually fall at once if they were held only by National Guards. Sometimes, however, they might hold out for as much as 12 hours, which could considerably delay an advancing army. The average would perhaps be about an hour. If properly defended and fortified, of course, they could hold out a lot longer provided the commander did not lose his nerve, as Moreau did at Soissons (He capitulated after about 30 hours when he might have held out for three times as long). Again, a full-scale fortress would be able to hold out for many weeks on end: but there were none in the campaign of 1814.

Finally, certain statistics can be assembled for the battles themselves which may give wargamers some food for thought. In my experience most Napoleonic wargames are 'encounter battles' in which one side sweeps the board after only about one major offensive act. This type of fight was very rare in most Napoleonic warfare, and most battles were fought over prepared positions which could sustain resistance for days on end. Far from being carried in one rush, half a dozen distinct offensives might be needed before progress was made. In 1814, by contrast, things were rather different. There was a two day battle at Laon and another at Arcis: but most actions were short, sharp encounter battles of the type beloved by wargamers. I have looked at five of the encounter battles of 1814, which were all rearguard actions with an inferior force defending itself against a bigger enemy. A total of 19 positions were occupied and carried in the course of these, as the inferior forces retired. In all cases the battles were brought to a close at nightfall when the pursuer could go no further, although at Fère Champenoise this coincided with the enemy's surrender. Overall I have found that each of the 19 positions was held for an average of 2 hours 15 minutes, with the next fall-back position an average of 3.5 Km. to the rear. Thus each of the five battles consisted of a short fight over a defended line - lasting perhaps an hour - and then a scramble back to the next position followed by enemy scouts, his artillery and other troops in the course of the following 1 hour 15 minutes. The

average speed at which the pursuit advanced would be 1.5 Km. per hour.

Statistics like these are surely indispensable for the accurate design of a wargame campaign, and they can have enormous significance for the table-top as well.

Appendix V: 'Trouble Down t'Mill, Mr Grimethorpe'

- a Manchester Cotton Mill Entertainment (or 'Meal Game')

as played at the 37th SAGSET annual conference on 17th July 2007

by Paddy Griffith

After supper on the Tuesday of the 2007 SAGSET conference at Luther King House in Manchester, we played my 'Trouble Down t'Mill' murder mystery game amid great hilarity. Fortunately t'despicable Mr Grimethorpe was duly arrested by t'police, albeit without any actual evidence whatsoever being discovered - but just because Sergeant Busy had knowingly rubbed the side of his nose (*He can smell a wrong 'un a mile away, you see*). I thought the Oscar for acting should go to Mr Fosdyke, whom I observed sustaining an awesome counselling session with t'widow of t'murdered Mr Black, in which he managed to combine compassionate sympathy for her loss with an absolutely crippling condemnation of the late Mr Black's competence as a sales manager. It was truly 'Better than Crossroads', as Jim Wallman might have said.

The game was designed for 17 players + 1 GHU, to last for about 90 minutes. - PG

Scene:

T'Brighton Grove Cotton Mill (on t'outskirts of Manchester) on 17 July 1887 (*actually modelled on t'Quarry Bank Mill, at Styall, which is a working 'living history' museum that you are all most enthusiastically encouraged to visit*)

Scenario:

There has been a ghastly suspicious death in t' Brighton Grove Mill!

Mr Jonas Black, t'Head of Sales, has been found horribly mangled (& drowned) in t'water wheel below the mill. He was last seen alive at 5 pm yesterday afternoon, and his body was found by t'chief engineer at lunchtime today, when he noticed that t'water wheel wasn't working properly.

Mr Grimethorpe, t'mill owner, has called in t'police and has also hired his own private detective.

A variety of conflicting theories have been put forward:-

- Mr Black committed suicide because his sales figures were falling dramatically?
- He committed suicide because of his horrendous personal debts, incurred by his drinking, gambling and consorting with women of dubious morality?
- He was killed by an angry employee who faced the sack due to falling sales?
- He got into dodgy dealings to boost sales (or to line his own pocket), but fell out with his confederate(s)?
- He planned to elope with Miss Esmeralda Grimethorpe (who is his superior by several social classes), so he was killed by her enraged family?
- He had a flaming row with Harry Blunt, the overseer of Printing, over the colouring of the new print designs, so Harry killed him?

T'Umpire's Word is, as always, Absolutely Final.

Persons present in t'mill, at t'time that t'investigation starts:-

Mr Theodosius Grimethorpe, t'mill owner (reputedly "stern but fair")

Mrs Mary Grimethorpe, his doting wife

Miss Esmeralda Grimethorpe, their lovely daughter (age 17 and a keen reader of cheap novels. She is also an excellent watercolourist.)

Ezekiel Fosdyke, t'Mill Manager (or Second in Command of t'Mill)

Hezekiah Clutch, Chief Engineer (responsible for t'steam engines & water wheel)

Mrs Mary Black, widow of the deceased Mr Jonas Black

Cilla Anfield, visiting buyer from t'Liverpool textile export firm of Rooney, Gerard & Owen

Tom Ibrox, visiting buyer from the Glasgow textile export firm of Baxter, Baxter, Baxter & MacBraine

Albert Campbell, Overseer of Spinning (on the Third Floor)

Annie Bobbins, Spinner

Mabel Mandelson, Loom Attendant

Harry Blunt, Overseer of Printing

Detective Inspector McKnacker of the Manchester Police

Constable Busy of the Manchester Police

Monsieur Hercule Duloupe, a private detective hired by Mr Grimethorpe

Rory Earnshaw, cub reporter for the Manchester Evening News

Rev Josiah Green, preacher at the local chapel

The GHU ought to have very little to do, apart from briefing the players, answering any questions, and making sure that players who appear to be inactive (or bored) are directed into more exciting interactions with other players. Really this game ought to 'play itself', once all the players have been briefed.

Secret Personal Briefing for Mr Theodosius Grimethorpe, t'mill owner:

Apart from being the lord of all you survey in the Brighton Grove mill, you are also in fact the murderer. Unknown to almost all of your employees, Mr Black's disgraceful failure as a sales manager has led your business into bankruptcy and ruin. In a couple of weeks' time you will be forced to sack everyone, close down the mill, and do a runner to Biarritz. You have not yet even told your own family about this (and it is only you who have access to all the accounts - although maybe Fosdyke may have a clue about what's really going on: perhaps maybe you should consult t'umpire about how best to silence him?). But when the last set of sales figures finally came in you felt that Mr Black (who turns out to have been a morally disreputable human being in his private life, anyway) had absolutely *murdered* your whole life's work - and so you murdered him as fair returns, by throwing him into the water wheel. You did this just as he was going home from work at 7.55 pm, and just as you were about to go home to the supper that your lovely wife had told the servants to put on the table at 8.0 pm. (*Obviously the clocks in 1887 are not sufficiently reliable to pin down those timings with any precision. You were last seen before the murder by Mr Fosdyke in the mill office at 7.50 pm*)

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black?>> Distrust of his motives towards my daughter (Ask my wife for more details), and low respect for his professional achievements as a salesman. This business is in crisis because of his disgraceful failure to penetrate the American market!

<<Did you murder Mr Black?>> No. Certainly not! **[BUT if you are pressed by someone who thinks you did it because of the financial situation at t'mill (rather than for any other motive, such as**

his threat to your daughter's virtue), you must reluctantly confess to everything].

Secret Personal Briefing for Mrs Mary Grimethorpe, t'mill owner's doting wife:

Take every opportunity (loudly and in public) to praise and make a fuss of your husband, who has created so many jobs and brought so much wealth to this community. He is a WONDERFUL MAN!

You are a highly placed lady in the community, and confident that the prosperity of The Mill (Not, please 't'mill', as it is often called by the vulgar classes) is doing a great deal of good by spreading employment and education to this whole area. Please play up your upper class 'noblesse oblige' & 'posh' credentials. Why, you have even taken French lessons so, despite your Rawtenstall roots, you are now fluent in that language!

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black?>> Dislike, because of his interest in my daughter. I have very bad feelings about his intentions towards Esmeralda.

<<Did you murder Mr Black? >> No - but I had a horrible dream that my husband might have done, because of Esmeralda: But I'm sure it can't really be true

<<When did your husband come home last night?>> He came back from work, as he always does, promptly for supper with the family at 8 pm. Esmeralda and all our servants saw him arrive.

Secret Personal Briefing for Miss Esmeralda Grimethorpe, t'mill owner's daughter (age 17: keen reader of cheap novels & an excellent watercolourist.):

Yes, you were in fact hoping to elope with that dreamy Mr Black, the Head of Sales, with whom you have been conducting a secret liaison for a whole year. He's just like that lovely Mr D'Arcy! You were going to take the train with him to marry him at Gretna Green as early as next week. You are now totally distraught that he has died. Especially since you are starting to suspect that you may be pregnant with his child. - Please put on a full show of melodramatic late-Victorian grief, mourning and anguish. Spare no excesses!

Yes you do suspect your father of murdering him out of resentment that you should win a life of your own with a socially inferior person - or maybe it was Jonas's despicable rival Mr Fosdyke, who was always desperate to stop Jonas taking precedence in the business. Or

perhaps Mr.Campbell, who resented the loss of business since Jonas came to t'mill. You really don't know - except that it *certainly* wasn't you who murdered Jonas!

There's a lot of smouldering & simmering resentments down at t'mill - really it could have been almost anyone who did it!

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<Did Mr Black have intimate relations with you?>> No, never - but he did once make what I believe the vulgar classes call 'a pass' at me.

<<When did your father come home last night?>> He came back from work, as he always does, promptly for supper with the family at 8 pm. I, my mother and all our servants saw him arrive.

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black? >> LOVE (*entre nous*)

<<Did you murder Mr Black? >> CERTAINLY NOT! *Au Contraire!* as my mother would say.

Secret Personal Briefing for Hezekiah Clutch, Chief Engineer (responsible for the steam engines & water wheel):

You can remember shutting the machinery down after work (8pm) last night, after which you went on the beer (with gin chasers) at t'local pub (*The Spinning Jenny*), where lots of your friends were with you. You woke up this morning with a very heavy hangover, so you can't remember much about what happened from 8 pm to about noon today. As you came round, you realised there was something clogging the mill wheel, which turned out to be the body of Mr Black.

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<Did you actually like Mr Black?>> No - he was an aloof bastard who seemed to think 'marketing' was somehow more important than production. He failed to realise that without my very great technical skills, no textiles could have been produced in this mill at all.

<<Did he fall in by accident or by a violent act (whether murder or suicide)?>> I cannot say. He was in too much of a helluva mess when found!

<<Did YOU murder Mr Black? >> Not as far as I can remember. As far as I know I did not witness the moment at which he fell into the water wheel.

Secret Personal Briefing for Cilla Anfield, visiting buyer from the Liverpool textile export firm of Rooney, Owen & Gerard:

Yes it's true that Mr Black had offered you a great business proposition by which if you bid, say £10,000 for an order, he would make sure you got the business AND he would pass back £ 1,000 to you. You naturally rejected this idea at first, but when you reported it back to head office, one of the partners insisted that you took it on condition that you shared half with him. So yes! - You were indeed doing 'dodgy business' with Mr Black when he died. But that surely gives you a reason to keep him alive, rather than kill him?

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black?>> He seemed to be very worried about his own position and was probably hunted into illegality by sheer desperation. But he was a charming man, which helped me to deal with him.

<<Did you murder Mr Black?>> Not as far as I can remember. I left him in t'mill at about 7.30 to go back to my lodgings next to the big house, and I spent most of this morning looking for him (as many witnesses will attest).

<<What do you think of Tom Ibrox, the textiles buyer from Glasgow?>> A nice man, but a bit too brusque towards me for my liking, doubtless for professional reasons.

<<What do you think of Mr Black's textile patterns?>> Eugh: the colours were disgusting! I suppose it's why he wanted to sell them off quick by 'dodgy dealings'.

Secret Personal Briefing for Tom Ibrox, visiting buyer from the Glasgow textile export firm of Baxter, Baxter, Baxter & MacBraine:

Yes it's true that Mr Black had offered you a great set of deals by which if you bid, say, £10,000 for an order, he would make sure you got the business AND he would pass back £ 1,000 to you. You naturally rejected this idea at first, but when you reported it back to head office, one of the partners insisted that you took it on condition that you shared half with him. So yes! - You were indeed doing 'dodgy business' with Mr Black when he died. But that surely gives you a reason to keep him alive, rather than kill him? Och Aye!

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are

asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black? >> Dislike & Distrust

<<Did you murder Mr Black? >> NO!

<<What do you think of Cilla, the textiles buyer from Liverpool?>>
FANTASTIC! I think we might be falling in love.

<<What do you think of Mr Black's textile patterns?>> Och: the colours were as disgusting as a Sassenach's sporran! I suppose it's why he wanted to sell them off quick by his 'dodgy dealings'. And his breath stank of gin.

Secret Personal Briefing for Ezekiel Fosdyke, Mill Manager:

You are the 'second in command' of the Brighton Grove mill, and you have risen through it to become a close associate of the wonderful Mr Grimethorpe, who set up this whole business from absolutely nothing. Unfortunately you have recently come to suspect that Mr Black had ambitions far beyond his abilities, and was trying to get your job by blackening your name behind your back. But it is his fault that the business is losing ground heavily in the international market (especially to the Americas), and is going to go down unless drastic measures are taken. You do not have access to all the accounts (only Mr Grimethorpe has that), but it is your clear impression that in financial terms things are currently going badly wrong. You should confront Mr Grimethorpe with this interpretation of the accounts (but beware that he may deny it!).

You do not actually know anything about the family life of the Grimethorpes, who live in a big house detached from t'mill: but you do know that the late Mr Black was no bloody good at his job as a salesman - and that his private life was chaotic and wasteful, what with all that wine, women & horse racing &c.

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<When did you last see Mr Grimethorpe before the death of Mr Black?>> He was in t'mill office at 7.55 pm, when he went home for dinner, as he does every day.

<<When did you last see the late Mr Black?>> He went home early yesterday (at 5 pm, I assume to go on the razzle, wasting his life), as he always did, every day.

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black?>> A nice enough fellow, but probably not very good at his job

<<Did you murder Mr Black?>> Absolutely not! I'm sure his death was a horrible accident .

Secret Personal Briefing for Albert Campbell, Overseer of Spinning:

You are one of the most senior workers in t'mill, and you can claim to speak for the majority of the work force. However you have to watch your temper. You are a man of strong opinions and a short fuse (any acting you can manage to indicate this will help the game).

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black?>> An arrogant young fellow, and a drunk, who never understood the first thing about textiles. His so-called 'Marketing Strategy Solutions' were just about to put this mill out of business. No one liked him - apart from the women he could buy, that is.

<<Did you murder Mr Black?>> No, how could I? I clocked off at 7 pm yesterday with an attack of my old trouble, and went home to my wife immediately, on my patent bicycle. I have been forced to stay there ever since (because of the trouble), as my wife will attest.

<<Do you know who DID murder him?>> No - but it could be anyone. I'd say it was probably a woman he had wronged. But it's perfectly likely that he just slipped while he was staggering home under the influence of drink.

Mrs Mary Black, widow of the deceased Mr Jonas Black:

You are totally distraught that your husband has died. - Please put on a full show of melodramatic late-Victorian grief, mourning and anguish. Spare no excesses! Ask everyone you can for any information they may have - you cannot rest until you know the truth!

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black? >> LOVE. But in recent days he seemed distracted and not really himself. I don't know why, except he had talked about finding a new job.

<<Did you murder Mr Black? >> CERTAINLY NOT!

Secret Personal Briefing for Annie Bobbins, Spinner:

You are a working class lass who is good at her job but has no particular interest in the cotton industry apart from the fact that your wages keep you & your family (especially your new baby, the delightful Bunny Bobbins) alive. You feel strongly that Mr Black's massive failures in the marketing department are putting t'future of t'whole mill into jeopardy, so you're glad he's no longer in charge. Go round telling everyone about how bad Mr Black was for t'Mill.

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black?>> Outrage at his policies that might get us all sacked; but no objection to his personality. He could be charming.

<<Did you murder Mr Black?>> NO! (But you have a secret suspicion that Mr Campbell might have done: he has a violent temperament).

<<Who is the father of your baby?>> Why, my late husband Bobby Bobbins, who fell under a Hansom Cab three weeks ago (Sob)... Who else would it be?

Secret Personal Briefing for Mabel Mandelson, Loom Attendant:

You are a working class lass who is good at her job but has no particular interest in the cotton industry apart from the fact that your wages keep you & your family alive. You're sorry Mr Black has died, and out of natural curiosity (to fuel gossip, which is your hobby) you should ask everyone you can for any information they may have about what happened.

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black?>> He was a dreamy dish!

<<Did you murder Mr Black?>> No! But I'd have liked to have had a date with him!

Secret Personal Briefing for Rev J. Green, preacher at the chapel:

You are a trebly blessed man, whom God has invested with exceptional righteousness.

Your task within t'Mill community is to spread pastoral care and preach the word of the Lord. Go round asking people if they have any spiritual troubles, or if there's anything they'd like to confess.

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black?>> He seemed to me to be a tormented soul, who often came to me for spiritual guidance. But he never discussed either his love life or his business affairs; just his belief that Satan was stalking him...

<<Were your suspicions aroused by any of your other parishioners who might have murdered Mr Black?>> Annie Bobbins has been behaving in a distraught way recently

<<Did you murder Mr Black? >> No, except in the sense that my pure faith and evident moral rectitude may have persuaded him to commit suicide. Perhaps he had a guilty secret?

Secret Personal Briefing for Harry Blunt, Overseer of Printing:

Yes it's true that Mr Black had objected to your new range of textile designs; but then what did he understand about art, style or colour-matching? You took no notice of his uninformed ideas about taste, and so you had absolutely no interest in murdering him. It's true, however, that a more aesthetically sensitive Head of Sales would have been a very good thing indeed for t'mill!

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<Do any cows feature in your patterns?>> No

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black? >> He was a Philistine.

<<Did you murder Mr Black? >> No

Secret Personal Briefing for Detective Inspector McKnacker of the Manchester Police:

You are leading the police investigation: but please note that the private detective hired by Mr Grimethorpe has nothing to do with you (unless you negotiate for his help and win him over. Obviously he will be committing an offence if he withholds evidence from you). Your job is to get to the bottom of the whole tragic affair by asking other players questions - or in the case of physical evidence, by asking t'umpire.

To assist in your enquiries you have the help of your Constable Busy. If asked by anyone you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black? >> Never heard of him before today

<<Did you murder Mr Black? >> CERTAINLY NOT! Even making such a suggestion is probably a criminal act.

Secret Personal Briefing for Monsieur Hercule Duloupe, a private detective hired by Mr Grimethorpe:

You are investigating the death of Mr Black at the request of Mr Grimethorpe. Please note that the Police investigation has nothing to do with you (unless you negotiate for their help and win them over). Obviously you will be committing an offence if you withhold evidence from them.

Your job is to get to the bottom of the whole tragic affair by asking other players questions - or in the case of physical evidence, by asking t'umpire.

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black? >> Never heard of him before today

<<Did you murder Mr Black? >> CERTAINLY NOT!

<<Has Mr Grimethorpe told you to conceal anything from the police?>> NO

<<Has Mr Grimethorpe hired you for any other purpose apart from investigating the death of Mr Black?>> NO

Secret Personal Briefing for Rory Earnshaw, cub reporter from the Manchester Evening News:

You are an eager young reporter anxious to make your name by unearthing all the scandal you possibly can about t'Mill and the people who work there. Obviously there are lots of dark secrets that they are hiding, and your readers need to hear about them! Go around asking questions and listening to the gossip.

If asked by anyone (notably the Police) you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are

asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black? >> Never heard of him before today

<<Did you murder Mr Black? >> CERTAINLY NOT!

Secret Personal Briefing for Constable Busy of the Manchester Police:

You are temporarily the personal assistant to D.I. McNacker. Your task is to help Inspector McNacker in his police investigation: but please note that the private detective hired by Mr Grimethorpe has nothing to do with you (unless you negotiate for his help and win him over. Obviously he will be committing an offence if he withholds evidence from you). Your job is to get to the bottom of the whole tragic affair by asking other players questions - or in the case of physical evidence, by asking t'umfire.

If asked by anyone, you should give the following replies to the following questions - although of course if you are asked some other question, you will have to make up whatever replies you think are most appropriate!

<<What did you think of the late Mr Black? >> Never heard of him before today

<<Did you murder Mr Black? >> CERTAINLY NOT!

Notes

- 1) ie 'Kriegsspiel', 'The generalship game' and 'TEWTs', in Paddy Griffith, *Napoleonic Wargaming for Fun* (Ward Lock, London 1980 and new edn with John Curry, Lulu.com 2008)
- 2) For Wargame Developments and their Conference:
<http://www.wargamedevelopments.org>
Their current list of 'definitions' is in:
<http://www.wargamedevelopments.org/Wargame%20Developments%20Handbook.pdf>
- 3) Please note that I bow to none in my love of a well built toy soldier as a miniature model and object of beauty, colour and art - but that does not in any way imply that he is a convenient or useful participant in a wargame.
- 4) Most of my best diplomatic crisis games were run in Salford University, 2002-6, although this series was brought to a brutal end when the Chinese consulate persuaded the university authorities to ban my game examining relations between China and Taiwan. See *Private Eye* #1152 (7 Feb-2 March 2006). The classic starting point for many such Crisis Games is Sidney F Giffin, *The crisis game: simulating international conflict* (New York: Doubleday 1965).
- 5) 'Trouble down t'mill, Mr Grimethorpe' game, played in the SAGSET Conference, Manchester 2007 - see Appendix V. The other transactions of the conference are in Paddy Griffith, ed., *The International Simulation and Gaming Research Yearbook Vol.16*, 'Putting fun into education and training through games' (SAGSET, Edinburgh 2008).
- 6) Steve Hatherley's www.freeforms.org.uk is a website devoted to freeforms in the UK.
- 7) J. Curry, ed., *Verdy's Free Kriegsspiel including the Victorian Army's 1896 War Game* (printed as part of the History of Wargaming Project: www.johncurryevents.co.uk)

- 8) *Dungeons & Dragons* (D&D) was designed by Gary Gygax and Dave Arneson, and published by Tactical Studies Rules, Inc. in 1974. It is currently published by 'Wizards of the Coast', a subsidiary of Hasbro.

Another good example of the sort of umpire-flexibility we are talking about is the late George Jeffrey's "Variable Length Bound" (VLB) concept, which produced many ripples among game designers in the early 1980s. The central idea was to start each turn whenever there was a 'critical event', rather than merely when a set period of time had expired. Thus instead of saying "each turn will always represent ten minutes", the umpire was free to say such things as "It doesn't look as though much will be happening in the next four hours, so we will take a four hour turn."; or alternatively "It that attack goes in now, we can expect a clear result within three minutes... so we will take a three minute turn."

- 9) From my own earliest experiences, while I was still at school, I noticed that wargames were not just 'pure competitions', such as you might encounter in the Casino or in the National Lottery. The aim was not just to win - although that might perhaps help - but to enjoy a 'social event' that had rather more in common with dinner parties or birthday parties - or any other type of party, for that matter. I found that the people who turned up wanted to talk to each other and socialise, as well as just to play the game. They needed time to hang up their coats, say 'hello' and then chat about the world at large. The bureaucrat within me screamed that all this was just wasting time (*See eg my strictures about the short playing times allowed for my games at Duxford*): but the human being within me (however much of it was left) told me that the whole point of the event was NOT a Competition but a Conversation. This, incidentally, is the reason why I have always totally despised and rejected the concept of 'competitive recreational wargaming'.

In military terms I would say that a *Kriegsspiel* or *TEWT* designed to teach soldiers about the basic techniques of their trade should encourage as much contemplation, discussion and subsequent debate as possible - ie it should be an event centred on 'Conversation'. However any game designed to plan the State's next military operation (eg the German Schlieffen Plan, or the Japanese Midway Campaign) should be played according to strictly controlled, or 'Competitive', rules. In that case the aim is not to ensure that the players all enjoy a happy social meeting; but rather to obtain the correct answer to a specific problem as posed (*although it is worth noting that when both the 'Schlieffen' and 'Midway' games actually did that, the findings were ultimately set aside by higher authority, with disastrous costs to the State!*)

In educational terms I would add that my personal development as a lecturer has helped me to see how a game (in common with a

lecture) should be written and presented in such a way as to reach out to as many of the participants as possible, at as many different levels as possible. Too much rigidity is bad Karma, man!

- 10) Wargames with toy soldiers have sometimes been called 'Chess with a thousand pieces' - eg on the original dust jacket of Donald Featherstone's book 'War Games' (Stanley Paul, London 1962). Note that Featherstone (p.17) goes on to say that gaming with toy soldiers 'far surpasses all previous attempts at war gaming.' With the greatest of respect, the present author would beg to disagree.
- 11) For Bill Leeson's extensive work on the classic 19th century Prussian Kriegsspiel, see: <http://www.toofatladies.co.uk/Kriegsspiel.html> See also Rich Madder's *Kriegsspiel News*: <http://www.kriegsspiel.org.uk> A wider ranging discussion of the subject is in A. Wilson, *War Gaming* (previously *The Bomb and the Computer*, London 1970).
- 12) This reminds us that apart from being a 'magic number', seven was always the best number of players for both 'committee games' and the classic boardgame 'Diplomacy'.
- 13) For Megagame Makers see: <http://www.megagame-makers.org.uk>
- 14) I am very grateful to Arthur Harman for helping me to umpire these games. For the record, our Cromwell won Naseby and our British won Balaklava, both of which results were consistent with the historical outcomes. But it was Bonaparte who won our game of Waterloo. In retrospect, I find it very hard to understand how he had failed to do so in real life unless - as is sometimes alleged - he really had slept through the battle under the influence of a heavy dose of laudanum.
- 15) Paddy Griffith, *Historical War Council Games* (Paddy Griffith Associates 1991 - no ISBN- to be reprinted as part of the History of Wargaming Project)
- 16) For Chris Engle's 'Matrix Games' see: http://www.onr.com/user/bturner/far_colony/fc_matrix.html Note that he tends to use rather more formal rules than I do, and his players are encouraged to be more competitive between each other.

- 17) See for example Joan Littlewood, ed., *Theatre Workshop: Oh what a lovely war* (1st published 1965; New edn Methuen Drama, London 2000)
- 18) I am extremely grateful to Ian Greenwood for organising the moment at COW #4 in 1984, and to Steve Badsey for supporting me in it.
- 19) I did have near misses with such persons on two or three occasions - but the problem is that to sustain a full game you'd need a considerable posse of them all assembled at the same time and place. I have given up the hope of ever assembling such a posse - but maybe someone else could manage it?
- 20) 'Cardboard Simulators' are often hilarious games for any number of players using, er, large sheets of cardboard to model historical artefacts such as eg triremes, tanks or submarines, as explained in the 'glossary of terms', above.
- 21) 'Pantomime Games' are (we hope) even more hilarious games, based upon the classic pantomime format, including songs, speeches, dances and sometimes even a whiff of cardboard as well. 'Meal Games' are games played around a dinner table by players who attempt to behave 'in role', and even in suitable historical dress. My absolutely best experience of such a game was Claude Bourlès' "Devils of Loudon" game held in a disestablished chapel that had been converted into a 'medieval banquet' venue in Angers 2005 (during the SAGSET conference). See, once again, the definitions offered in the 'glossary of terms', above.
- 22) 'Events, dear boy - events.' (Apocryphally attributed to Harold Macmillan, when he was asked what is most likely to blow governments off course. n.d.).
- 23) He charges 50p per turn. In his spare time, he runs a magazine "To win but once". See: <http://www.pevans.co.uk/PostalGames.html#Top>
The complex differences between postal games and e-mail games are discussed in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Play-by-mail_game
- 24) The 'World of Warcraft' is perhaps currently the biggest, followed by 'Second Life' and perhaps 'Travian'; but there are many, many others - often online versions of existing boardgames or one-to-one

computer games. There are also various PBeM games which piggy-back on other websites. For example, the Social Networking site 'Facebook' provides a platform on which numerous role-playing games, which can look very like PBeM, can be played. These games can sprawl to an international level. For example, Aaron Lauster (of Stratamax, USA) uses Facebook to run a virtual mob of Gangsters and a Viking horde; he invites his Facebook friends to support his adventures.

The leading PBM magazine is 'Flagship', which carries a list of commercial companies which run e-mail games... see:

<http://flagshipmagazine.com/GalacticViewGMs.html>

25) See Appendix I, on 'My memoirs as an e-mail gamer'.

26) During the SPI / Avalon Hill 'revolution' of the 1970s a large number of people in USA and UK became convinced that this style of board game was the 'only' way to play wargames, although they appeared to be perfectly (irrationally) happy to spend an entire week playing through just a couple of days' action on the Eastern Front (Not only 'Barbarossa'; but all those tedious later battles as well). This philosophy instantly established a diametrically opposite perspective from those who believed that the 'only' way to play wargames was to use toy soldiers.

I am happy to say that I myself contributed to both of these hobbies. My *Napoleonic Wargaming for Fun* had a lot to say about toy soldiers, and my *A book of Sandhurst Wargames* (Hutchinson, London 1982) contains three 'classic-style' boardgames using a hexagon grid. However, the experience of writing both of these books helped convince me that there had to be a better way than either. There had to be a 'Third Way'. Instead of games with rigid rules, ie the games should be more 'sprawling'! - Hence the present volume...

27) Admittedly some of the sagas were very accurate indeed, in both history and geography - but almost always these discussed Norway, the Orkneys and especially Iceland itself. A mystical mist usually descended on anything that happened much further afield than that, such as 'Slabland' (I assume it was somewhere in the area of the White Sea); Ireland; Canada, and absolutely anywhere in the Mediterranean and / or Black Sea. Thus in my game I tried to use real geography for the Orkneys and the northern coastline of Scotland - but all the geography further west of that was invented 'magically'.

- 28) See Appendix IV: Analysis of march rates in the 1814 campaign.
- 29) The full text of Richard Cox's article that initially reported the game is reproduced in Appendix II. The later novel by Richard Cox was *Sealion* (Futura edn, London 1974). Note that although the game was physically located in the Staff College 'Montgomery Wing' (= a suite of rooms purpose-built for wargames), it was not a Staff College operation. It was rather a 'Daily Telegraph Magazine' operation - or even a personal literary venture by Richard Cox. But many of the umpires and players came from the staff of the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst.
- 30) See Appendix III, on 'Hypotheticals'.
- 31) 'Alternate histories' include Duncan Grinnell-Milne, *Silent Victory* (London, 1958); Kenneth Macksey, *Invasion; the alternate history of the German invasion of England, July 1940* (First publ 1980, new edn Greenhill, London 1999); and Stephen Badsey, 'Disaster at Dunkirk, the defeat of Britain 1940' in P Tsouras, ed., *Third Reich Victorious* (Greenhill, London 2002), pp.36-64. A scholarly modern debate in *History Today* can be followed via: <http://www.rusi.org/research/militarysciences/history/commentary/ref:C4538D604EF124>
- 32) Ronald Wheatley, *Operation Sea Lion: German Plans for the Invasion of England 1939-1942* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1958). Compare discussion in eg Telford Taylor, *The Breaking Wave: The Second World War in the Summer of 1940* (Simon & Schuster NY, and Weidenfeld & Nicolson London, 1967). Note that in my Duxford game my offer of a choice between 'Sealion Case Orange' and 'Case Purple' was a purely fictitious one, with no basis in reality.
- 33) SS General Walter Schellenberg and others, *Invasion 1940, the Nazi invasion plan for Britain* (with introduction by John Erickson and Preface by Nigel West; St Ermin's Press, London 2000)
- 34) Beaverbrook had been Evelyn Waugh's model for an overbearing newspaper owner (Lord Copper of the 'Daily Beast'), in his humorous 1938 novel 'Scoop'.
- 35) *But No, we will NOT add that this was the same firm that would later give the world Mad Cow Disease...*

- 36) Admittedly unscientific, but nevertheless...
- 37) Andrew Roberts, *The Storm of War, a new history of the Second World War* (Allen Lane, London 2009). Note our wargame on p.lv.
- 38) As GHU I did not allow an earlier start than 22 June 1941, as a number of historians have said would have been a better option for Hitler in real life - especially:-
- a) If there had been no attack on Yugoslavia & Greece, the attack on USSR might have been launched six weeks earlier, which would surely have given sufficient time to capture Moscow? But note that Andrew Roberts, in *Storm of War, op cit*, pp. 140-1 turns this around by pointing out that the weather in Russia would surely have been too wet for the Germans to make serious advances there much before 22 June - therefore his Balkan campaign was a 'bonus' bestowed upon him by the Russian thaw, rather than a 'self imposed hindrance'.
 - b) The much bolder solution for Hitler would have been to attack USSR, rather than France, in 1940. In this case I thought that it would have stretched the relevance of the speculation too far to suit the requirements of Andrew's book.
- 39) John Ellis, *The World War II Databook* (BCA, London 1993): A comprehensive reference work.
- 40) The 18th century Cassini 'Carte de France' is published on both paper and on CD Rom by the IGN (Institut Geographique National) in Paris. In our games we used the northern half = 'Cassini Nord'.
- 41) My analysis of the French fortresses, which was in part inspired by this game and the visit to Alsace that followed it, is *The Vauban Fortifications of France* (Osprey Fortress series #42, Oxford 2006). See also my *The Art of War of Revolutionary France, 1789-1802* (Greenhill, London 1998).
- 42) On the subject of bridging the Rhine, the *locus classicus* is the concerted nine-front attempt to cross this river that was ordered by the Representatives on Mission on 8 Sept 1793 [See my 'Art of War of Revolutionary France' p.89 and following]. In case you haven't read about it, it was an hilarious (apart from the many casualties) comic opera operation that achieved absolutely zilch.

- 43) I trust that all concerned will understand that 'King Magnus One-Arm of Møre' is an entirely fictitious personality, made up by your ever-friendly GHU.
- 44) My own contribution to 'Viking literature' was *The Viking Art of War* (Greenhill, London 1995), which attempted to demonstrate exactly how little we know, and how little we can possibly know, about the Viking art of war. I also highlighted a number of important limitations in their performance as either soldiers or sailors.
- 45) Various 'Black Isles' exist in a number of different places scattered all over the real world; but the one that inspired the name of this particular game was the fictitious one shown in the 'Tintin' book of the same name. It looked almost as rocky, remote and uninviting as the real Staffa - which doubtless the artist Hergé had personally visited - although in the book it turned out to be home to a giant gorilla rather than to a full scale dragon.
- 46) The inspiration for 'Mabro the Oily' is my family's friend, named Mabro, who is a Lebanese oil economist. He told me that wherever he travels in the oil business, he looks up the local phone book to see if there is anyone else named Mabro in the neighbourhood. He said that apart from his own homeland of the Lebanon, he had found one only in Trondheim, Norway - from which he deduced that the Ancient Vikings had reached Beirut (although conversely one might speculate that it was rather the Ancient Phoenicians who had reached Trondheim?).
- 47) As a compromise position, I might agree that an individual Viking navigator might manage a long voyage out of sight of land; but a large warfleet never could. And in any case any lone Viking boat would always run a serious risk of getting wrecked or getting lost (All three of Iceland, Greenland and America were discovered by Vikings who were trying to make landfall somewhere else...).
- 48) Note, however, that the Vikings of c.900 would have believed in pagan Gods, whereas by the time the sagas were written (three or four hundred years later) most of them would have converted to Christianity.

49) There is a huge 'moral maze' attached to almost all wargames: not only in the case of rape and pillage in the Viking era; but also in games set in much more modern times. For example both the 'Sealion' and 'Barbarossa' games (*reported above*) had to be screened to exclude racist Nazi ideologies.

50) Many photos of scenery in North Scotland and the Hebrides can be taken off the internet and shown to players 'as if' they are views of the fictitious island on which they have just landed... My player 'Winegard' told me he had cycled all over the area, often in bad weather, so he knew it well. By contrast 'Theoderic' was shocked to find how bare and treeless it was. He had assumed it was similar to the densely-wooded North American coastline around Nantucket or perhaps Seattle - which is perhaps similar to many parts of Norway, but certainly not to the barren Point of Stoer!

While thinking about all this, incidentally, the GHU remembered - too late and much to his embarrassment - that rabbits had been introduced into the British Isles rather later than the period we are playing. My personal memories of this area are full of rabbits - and indeed there is even a 'rabbit island' on the map at the entrance to the Kyle of Tongue. But in fact they are highly anachronistic for the Viking age.

51) I F Clarke - *Voices Prophesying War, 1763-1984* (Oxford University Press, London 1966): a fascinating overview of the 'classic' literature of 'what might have been'.

52) See eg Peter Tsouras, ed, *Hitler Triumphant, alternate decisions of World War II* (Greenhill, London 2006); Peter Tsouras, ed, *Third Reich Victorious* (Greenhill, London 2002); Jonathan North, ed, *The Napoleon Options; alternate decisions of the Napoleonic Wars* (Greenhill, London 2000); David Fitz-Enz, *Redcoats' Revenge; an alternate history of the war of 1812* (Potomac Books, Washington DC, 2008)

53) Andrew Roberts, ed, *What Might Have Been* (First publ 2004, new edn, Phoenix, London 2005)

54) TS Eliot, *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935)

55) My chapter is 'That most vulnerable, and at the same time, most mortal part' in Jonathan North, ed, *The Napoleon Options; alternate*

decisions of the Napoleonic Wars (Greenhill, London 2000), pp.17-34. Note that I played out the campaign as a wargame (with Richard Madder) as a part of my preparation for writing this chapter.

- 56) A similar example arose when I made a wargame of H G Wells' *The War of the Worlds* (1897-8). I tried to analyse the original text in great detail, to find exactly what sort of (steam driven!) machinery Wells had imagined his Martian invaders would deploy. My game was therefore consistent with the literary text, if not with historical truth.

Book List

Wargames in General, and Related Subjects

J. Curry, ed., *Verdy's Free Kriegsspiel including the Victorian Army's 1896 War Game* (printed as part of the History of Wargaming Project: www.johncurryevents.co.uk)

Sidney F Giffin, *The crisis game: simulating international conflict* (Doubleday, New York 1965)

John Drewienkiewicz & Adam Poole, *Wargaming Gettysburg* (Trotman, Cambridge forthcoming 2010): includes a number of 'What ifs?'

Paddy Griffith, *Napoleonic Wargaming for Fun* (Ward Lock, London 1980, and new edn with John Curry, Lulu.com 2008. *Also exists in an Italian edition, 1983*)

Paddy Griffith, *A book of Sandhurst Wargames* (Hutchinson, London 1982) *A selection of four boardgames.*

Paddy Griffith, *Historical War Council Games* (Paddy Griffith Associates 1991) = *How to play 'committee games': a short and now very rare pamphlet*¹.

Paddy Griffith, ed., *The International Simulation and Gaming Research Yearbook Vol.16: 'Putting fun into education and training through games'* (SAGSET, Edinburgh 2008)

Steve Hatherley on 'freeform' games (*often murder mysteries*):
www.freeforms.org.uk

Kriegsspiel news: <http://www.kriegsspiel.org.uk/>

Joan Littlewood, ed., *Theatre Workshop: Oh what a lovely war* (1st published 1965; New edn Methuen Drama, London 2000) *A classic text for method acting, that happens to have a military theme.*

Bill Leeson on Kriegsspiels:
<http://www.toofatbardies.co.uk/Kriegsspiel.html>

Greg McCauley, *Buckle for Your Dust* (1st publ. 1995, although it was essentially conceived 1979-81; Paddy Griffith Associates). *Vietnam wargames with, or more often without, toy soldiers.*

Megagame Makers: <http://www.megagame-makers.org.uk>

¹ To be reprinted as part of the History of Wargaming Project

H. Pearson, *Achtung Schweinehund! - a Boy's Own story of imaginary combat* (Little Brown, London 2007) *Well observed memoirs of a hobbyist, from pre-adolescence onward.*

Wargame Developments and its Conference:
<http://www.wargamedevelopments.org>

A. Wilson, *War Gaming* (previously *The Bomb and the Computer*; London 1970) - *of particular relevance to Kriegsspiels*

A Few 'Alternate Histories'

I F Clarke - *Voices Prophesying War, 1763-1984* (Oxford University Press, London 1966)

David Fitz-Enz, *Redcoats' Revenge; an alternate history of the war of 1812* (Potomac Books, Washington DC, 2008)

Kenneth Macksey, ed, *The Hitler Options* (Greenhill, London 1995)
Scenarios of alternate history.

Andrew Roberts, ed, *What Might Have Been* (First publ 2004, new edn, Phoenix, London 2005) *12 scenarios of alternate history, from the victory of the Spanish Armada to the non-election of GW Bush.*

Peter Tsouras, ed, *Hitler Triumphant, alternate decisions of World War II* (Greenhill, London 2006) *Includes my account of the Fallschirmjaeger in the Caucasus oilfields.*

Peter Tsouras, ed, *Third Reich Victorious* (Greenhill, London 2002) *More alternate histories, including my account of Rommel's victory at Alamein.*

'Operation Sealion'

Basil Collier, *The defence of the United Kingdom* (British official history, HMSO, London 1957)

Richard Collier, *1940, the world in flames* (Penguin, London 1979)

Richard Cox, *Sealion* (Futura edn, London 1974) *Based on my original wargame, which was written & run on behalf of Richard Cox and the Daily Telegraph Magazine.*

Richard Cox, 'The Invaders Reach Berkshire' in *The Daily Telegraph Magazine* No.497, May 17 1974, pp.14-21. See Appendix II

H T Lenton & J J Colledge, *Warships of World War II [British]* (Ian Allan, London 1964) *An essential reference work, also relevant to 'Mercury'.*

Kenneth Macksey, *Invasion; the alternate history of the German invasion of England, July 1940* (First publ 1980, new edn Greenhill, London 1999)

Kenneth Munson, *Aircraft of World War II* (Ian Allen, Shepperton 1962)
An essential reference work, also relevant to 'Mercury' and 'Barbarossa'.

Walter Schellenberg and others, *Invasion 1940, the Nazi invasion plan for Britain* (with introduction by John Erickson and Preface by Nigel West; St Ermin's Press, London 2000)

J C Taylor, *German Warships of World War II* (Ian Allan, London 1966)
An essential reference work, also relevant to 'Mercury' and 'Barbarossa'.

Telford Taylor, *The Breaking Wave: The Second World War in the Summer of 1940* (Simon & Schuster NY, and Weidenfeld & Nicolson London, 1967)

Ronald Wheatley, *Operation Sea Lion: German Plans for the Invasion of England 1939-1942* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1958)

'Operation Mercury'

Alan Clark, *The Fall of Crete* (First publ 1962; new Nel Mentor edn, London 1969)

Von der Heydte, *Daedalus returned* (Hutchinson, London 1958)
Marvellous memoirs of a German Para battalion commander.

SWC Pack, *The Battle for Crete* (Ian Allan, London 1973) *The complete naval history.*

ISO Playfair, *The Mediterranean and Middle East Vol II* (British Official History, HMSO, London 1952)

I McD Stuart, *The Struggle for Crete* (Oxford University Press, London 1966)

Various authors (by battalion), *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War*, especially D M Davin, *Crete* (Historical Publications Branch, Wellington 1953). See:

<http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/subject-000004.html>

'Operation Barbarossa'

John Ellis, *The World War II Databook* (BCA, London 1993) *A comprehensive reference work.*

Geoffrey Jukes, *The Defence of Moscow* (Pan Ballantine, New York 1969)

Robert Kirchubel, *Operation Barbarossa, 1941* (3 Vols, Osprey 'Campaign' #129, #148, #186: Oxford 2003, 2005, 2007)

Jurg Meister, *The Soviet Navy* (4 Vols in the 'Navies of the Second World War' series, Macdonald, London 1972) *Essential reference.*

Andrew Roberts, *The Storm of War, a new history of the Second World War* (Allen Lane, London 2009) *The latest & therefore best informed overall synopsis of this global disaster, in 712 pages. On p.lv Roberts acknowledges the insights he derived from the author's 'Barbarossa' game.*

Alsace in 1799

Cassini (three generations of them!), *Carte de France - Nord* (Institut Geographique National, Paris.)

Christopher Duffy, *Eagles over the Alps: Suvarov's campaigns in Italy and Switzerland, 1799* (Emperor's Press, 2001)

Christopher Duffy, *Fire and Stone, the Science of Fortress Warfare 1660-1860* (London 1975)

Fortress Study Group: <http://www.fsgfort.com>

Paddy Griffith, *The Art of War of Revolutionary France, 1789-1802* (Greenhill, London 1998)

Paddy Griffith, *The Vauban Fortifications of France* (Osprey Fortress series #42, Oxford 2006)

Philip Longworth, *The art of victory: the life and achievements of Generalissimo Suvarov* (Constable, London 1965)

R. Muir, *Tactics and the experience of battle in the age of Napoleon* (Yale, London 1988)

B. Nosworthy, *Battle tactics of Napoleon and his enemies* (Constable edn, London 1995. Also published by Da Capo in USA as *'With Musket, Cannon and Sword'*)

Appendix IV : Statistics of the 1814 Campaign (also used in my 'Vosges' game)

Paddy Griffith, *A book of Sandhurst wargames* (Hutchinson, London, and Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, New York, 1982): Chapter 2, 'Craonne'

H.Housaaye, 1814 (Paris 1888 and many reissues): *An unbeatable general account of at least the second half of the campaign. It's only a pity that the military part isn't longer.*

F.Lorraine Petre, *Napoleon at Bay 1814* (London 1914): *I suppose I*

should mention him, too

M R Mathieu, *Dernieres Victoires 1814* (Paris 1964): Mme. Mathieu, veuve, was a charming and exceptionally generous old lady who lived in Montmirail where her husband had been maire. Her book was originally conceived as local history, which explains its prodigious and meticulous documentation - so rare in modern military history. But her book succeeds as military as well as local history. It is highly recommended, and covers all the fighting around Montmirail, plus a good deal else besides.

The Vikings

Paddy Griffith, *The Viking Art of War* (Greenhill, London 1995. Also exists in a Spanish edition!)

Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards, eds., *Orkneyinga Saga, the history of the Earls of Orkney* (Penguin, London 1981): an essentially historical account, which has particular relevance to the start of my game (although by day two its relevance tends to diminish rapidly!)

By contrast the 'Magical' Sagas include, among many others:

Anon, translated by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards, *Göngu-Hrólfs Saga, a Viking Romance* (Edinburgh, Canongate New Saga Library, 1980)

Anon, translated by Alan Boucher, *The Saga of Hord and the Holm Dwellers* (Reykjavik, Iceland Review, 1983)

Anon, translated by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards, *Hrólfr Gautreksson, A Viking Romance* (Edinburgh, Southside New Saga Library, 1972)

Anon, translated by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards, *Seven Viking Romances* (Penguin, London 1985)



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As a professional military historian, Paddy Griffith's career started as a civilian lecturer at the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst. Since 1989 he has been a freelance author, publisher and occasional university lecturer.

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Definitions, and Principles of Game Design
Operation Sealion 1940
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The 'Black Isle' Magical Viking Game

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